

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

What solution to inflation, layoffs?

Socialists answer Ford 'summit'

When President Ford announced the convening of a "summit conference on inflation," Socialist Workers Party representatives Debby Bustin and Maceo Dixon demanded time to address the gathering.

No one else, they pointed out, would speak up for the interests of working people, who are the real victims of the economic crisis.

The socialists' request was refused. The Democrats and Republicans running the conference were afraid to allow any other viewpoint to be heard.

The Militant is printing below the full texts of the speeches Dixon and Bustin would have given. The two are cochairpersons of the Socialist Workers 1974 National Campaign Committee.

By DEBBY BUSTIN

This conference is meeting at a time when the American people face economic disaster.

Economists, stockbrokers, bankers, industrialists, union officials, and politicians have talked about it at "mini-summits" around the country, and everyone agrees that the economy is sick. Everyone knows the symptoms: inflation, recession, shortages, rising unemployment, high interest rates, falling production.

So you have given speeches for hour after hour. You have printed thousands of pages of reports. And what is the result? Nothing! Not one proposal has been made to solve any of the problems of working people in this country. You just tell us to "tighten our belts."

With all their graphs and statistics and formulas, your "experts" can't even begin to explain how this crisis has come about. In



DIXON, BUSTIN: 'Government plans to make workers pay for economic crisis.'



Militant/Brian Shannon

the richest country in the world, able to produce the greatest abundance of goods in history, where the capabilities of science and technology are virtually without limit—we are threatened with economic catastrophe. Why?

This country flies men to the moon, but it can't provide low-cost gasoline for us to drive across town. It builds skyscrapers, but not decent housing for the poor. It has the resources to feed the entire world, but millions of people are starving. Why?

Now there is talk of another world depression like in the 1930s. I really started getting scared the other day when President Ford promised that "the U.S. is not going to have a depression." I couldn't help remembering that it was just a few months ago that Nixon solemnly swore, "There will be no recession in the United States of America." And look where we are now.

Everyone who has spoken at this conference talked as though this economic crisis

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How CIA millions financed right-wing 'strikes' in Chile

From Intercontinental Press

In new sensational disclosures leaked to the *New York Times* from sources apparently within the Central Intelligence Agency itself, it has now been revealed that the sinister super-spy organization was the source of funds used to subsidize the anti-Allende "strikes" carried out in Chile by truck owners and shopkeepers in 1972 and 1973.

The money, disbursed "for more than 18 months" before the government was overthrown by force and violence, was used "to provide strike benefits and other means of support for anti-Allende strikers and workers," according to the September 20 issue of the *New York* daily.

The revelations give the lie to claims by White House representatives that the CIA's cloak-and-dagger operations in Chile were limited to financing opposition political parties and the news media.

"Among those heavily subsidized," Washington correspondent Seymour Hersh reported, citing "intelligence sources" that gave him the details, "were the organizers of a nationwide truck strike that lasted 26 days in the fall of 1972, seriously disrupting Chile's economy and provoking the first of a series of labor crises for President Allende."

"Direct subsidies, the sources said, also were provided for a strike of middle-class shopkeepers and a taxi strike among others, that disrupted the capital city of Santiago in the summer of 1973, shortly before Mr. Allende was overthrown by a military coup."

The truck owners' "strike" (in reality, a lockout) was directed against the government's plan to form a state trucking corporation in the south of the country to compete with private

companies. During the lockout, Allende made major concessions to the truck owners, including a promise to recognize the "private nature" of transportation companies.

(Few if any "workers" were actually participants in these right-wing anti-government protests. An American living in Santiago at the time has described the participants in a typical "March of the Empty Pots" action: (Jim Ritter in *Chile's Days of Terror: Eyewitness Accounts of the Military Coup*. Pathfinder Press, New York, 1974.)

". . . the right-wing women would come down from their houses in the Barrio Alto . . . in their Fiats and their Mercedes-Benzes and they would park them on a side street. Then they would all walk about half a block to the Plaza Italia—the main center—and then walk down the main street for two blocks with their signs, as though they had marched hungry and oppressed from the rich quarters further up in Santiago. . . . You would see their faces distorted with hatred, not so much against the actual concrete activities of the government but against the actual presumption of the poor—the idea that they could determine what was going to be done."

The latest revelations provide further proof of Washington's efforts to disrupt Chile's economy under Allende. The *New York Times* had previously revealed, on September 15, that the 40 Committee, a high-level intelligence and security agency presided over by Henry Kissinger, had worked to cut off loans and credit for Chile after Allende's election in 1970.

Hersh reported in the September 20 *New York Times* that the money for the CIA's covert operations from 1970 to 1973, following Allende's election,



Anti-Allende demonstrations like this one prior to rightist coup were financed by CIA

was funneled into Chile through the black market, thus enormously increasing its "buying power."

"The unofficial exchange rate, sources said, was as much as 800 per cent higher than the official rate, indicating that the C.I.A.'s cash could have had a local impact of more than \$40-million."

The CIA's subsidization of opposition business and trade organizations was pictured "as part of a broad effort to infiltrate all areas of Chile's governmental and political life. The sources said that by the end of the Allende period, the agency had agents and informers in every major party making up Mr. Allende's Popular Unity coalition."

They were unable to infiltrate the Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR), Hersh's sources claimed. While giving critical support to Allende's popular-front government, the centrist MIR did not join the Popular Unity coalition.

At his September 16 news confer-

ence, Ford admitted that the CIA carried out clandestine operations in Chile. However, he pictured these as benign actions intended only "to help and assist the preservation of opposition newspaper and electronic media and to preserve opposition political parties."

The latest revelations by the *New York Times* show that Ford was covering up the job done on the Chilean government by the CIA.

"What we really were doing was supporting a civilian resistance movement against an arbitrary Government," a Washington official "with first-hand knowledge of the decision-making on Chile" told the *New York Times*. "Our target was the middle-class groups who were working against Allende."

The newspaper's sources said that less than half the CIA money was provided for direct support of politicians, newspapers, and radio and television stations. Most of the funds

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Tens of thousands in worldwide Chile protests

In cities around the world thousands of people turned out for protest actions to mark the first anniversary of the bloody military coup in Chile.

One of the largest took place in Frankfurt, Germany, where between 20,000 and 30,000 marched on Sept. 14. "This is the largest Chile action ever in West Germany," writes *Militant*.

correspondent Derek Jeffers. "It is also probably the largest demonstration in recent years in West Germany, and the largest in Frankfurt since the end of World War II."

The Frankfurt action was organized by 27 local Chile committees and the Federation of Latin American Students. It was supported by several

political organizations, including the International Marxist Group (GIM), German section of the Fourth International.

In London more than 10,000 persons marched Sept. 15. The action, sponsored by the Chile Solidarity Committee, included representatives of almost the entire spectrum of the British left and working-class movement.

Unfortunately at the last minute the National Executive of the Labour Party withdrew its support and asked that the action be called off. But on the march itself there appeared banners of many Labour Party constituency groups, as well as those of at least a dozen trades councils and many unions.

The main theme of the protest was to demand that the Labour government carry out its earlier position for a break in diplomatic relations with the junta in Chile and a total embargo on all trade with the Chilean government.

In Australia, actions took place in five cities Sept. 11, including a march of 500 in Sydney. The concluding rally was addressed by Ernest Mandel, a leader of the Fourth International who is on a speaking tour of Australia.

In Venezuela, *United Press International* reported that the main trade-union federations called for a 15-minute work stoppage throughout the country Sept. 18.

In New York on the same date, longshoremen refused to handle cargo to or from Chile in support of a two-day boycott of Chilean ships organized by the International Transport Workers Federation.



Part of demonstration of 20,000-30,000 in Frankfurt, Germany, Sept. 14

Militant/Derek Jeffers

...Chile

Continued from preceding page
allocated for stimulating antigovernment propaganda went to *El Mercurio*, the main anti-Allende daily in Santiago.

The *New York Times*'s sources, hoping to deflect charges of direct CIA involvement in the bloody September 1973 coup and its aftermath, insisted that the Nixon administration's goal was not to overthrow Allende.

One official Hersh spoke with went so far as to call Washington's policy in Chile a "failure": "We were not looking for a military take-over," he declared.

It may well be that the CIA ordered its operators to stand by on the day the generals struck the blow they had been organizing together with the CIA from the time Allende took office. The fact that they were only spattered by the blood of the tens of thousands of victims does not lessen their complicity.

As *Intercontinental Press* pointed out during the 1972 truck owners' lockout, the general strategy of the opposition was at that time to wear away the popular hopes inspired by the Popular Unity victory. They sought through confrontations to force Allende to abandon even the limited reformist program of his coalition, gradually turning him into a captive of the opposition parties and the army.

The opposition strategy—with the help of the CIA—was successful. When Allende hindered the masses from mobilizing in their own defense (for example, by imposing martial law during the truckers' strike) and capitulated to the demands of the truck owners and other opponents of the regime, he emboldened the right-wing opposition and enabled it to go increasingly on the offensive against the government.

By the time of the shopkeepers' strikes in July-August 1973, however, the opposition's strategy of attrition was becoming increasingly risky. On the one hand, the workers were responding to the right-wing attacks with mobilizations that the Popular Unity government could not control and that increasingly tended to undermine the base of the capitalist system.

Following the "Tancazo," or attempted coup, of June 29, 1973, for example, the workers carried through a wave of plant seizures and strengthened their *cordones industriales*, the councils they had established to administer such properties.

On the other hand, sectors of the ruling class and the far right wing showed an increasing proclivity toward panicky reactions that overstepped the bounds of a strategy limited to pressuring Allende. These elements, of course, had been encouraged enormously by Allende's previous retreats, as well as by Washington's support.

And so the time had come for a shift in tactics of the reaction.

"The people within the [U.S.] Embassy," a Washington official told the *New York Times*, "felt that they were engaged in a kind of warfare. . . .

"There were a lot of people in Santiago on the far right who were essentially dedicating their lives to the overthrow of Allende—it was like a holy war," the source said. "These people were increasingly seen at the embassy in 1972 and 1973."

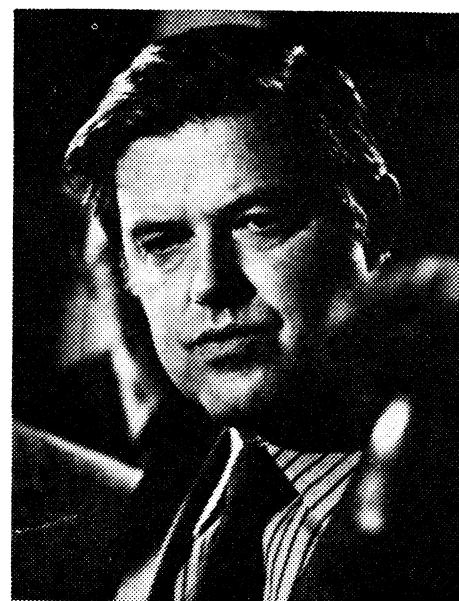
"At the time, he added, 'just putting some resources at their disposal alone would be enough.'

Politicians in Congress feign surprise at CIA Chile crimes

From Intercontinental Press
By DICK FIDLER

Ford's attempt, at a September 16 White House news conference, to justify the Central Intelligence Agency's clandestine operations in Chile against the Allende government has been met with indignant statements from members of Congress and newspaper editors.

Clifton Daniel, associate editor of the *New York Times*, raised the question of the new president's intelligence. "Another kind of reply was possible," he wrote September 17. "The President might have said that he was not responsible for past activities of the



CHURCH: Pretends to be surprised

C.I.A., but would be responsible for its future behavior, and would accordingly review its policies and plans."

Instead, Daniel noted, "the President chose to defend the behavior of the old Administration rather than chart a new policy for his own."

In Daniel's view, Ford's statement that the CIA's subversive activities in other countries were justified "to help implement foreign policy and protect national security" seemed to conflict with CIA director William Colby's recent assurance that abandoning "covert action" would, "in the light of current American policy," "not have a major impact on our current activities or the current security of the United States."

Both Ford and Colby "seemed to take it for granted that the United States had the right to intervene in the affairs of other countries in its own interest," Daniel observed. Ford had even claimed that "such actions are taken in the best interests of the countries involved."

Ford's claim led Senator Frank Church, a liberal Democrat and member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, to wave a warning finger.

"It seems he declared that the United States respects no law other than the law of the jungle in its dealings with foreign countries," the senator said. "He equates us with the Russians. I thought there was a difference, and the difference is what it's all about."

In fact, the recent statements of top officials approving CIA activities have punctured the long-stated official rationale for U.S. foreign policy, through which the ruling class attempts to mobilize public opinion in support of Washington's counterrevolutionary role around the world.

The president himself has now admitted and defended what an increasing number of American people have come to understand and oppose: that far from supporting democracy, self-determination, and freedom, Washington's policy is to back, encourage,

and inspire the most reactionary opponents of those ideals.

This "candidness"—less polite commentators call it stupidity—on the part of administration spokesmen has called forth troubled comments from other representatives of the ruling class, as Senator Church's remarks indicate.

Many commentators expressed concern that Ford's defense of CIA subversion would tarnish still further the image that has been constructed of him as "Mr. Clean."

Typical was a September 20 column by Tom Wicker, Washington bureau chief of the *New York Times*, a newspaper that has done its share in presenting Ford as still a Boy Scout at heart.

Wicker noted a number of absurdities in Ford's remarks. Allende, contrary to what Ford had said, did not try to "destroy opposition news media . . . and to destroy opposition political parties." In fact, Wicker said, the opposition parties and press were never threatened under the Popular Unity regime.

And in any case, what about Washington's complete lack of concern for the opposition press and opposition parties in many other countries where they are suppressed—as in "South Vietnam, South Korea, until recently Greece, just to name a few," Wicker said.

"Aside from misleading the American people, Mr. Ford's statement was one of the most unfortunate ever made by the head of a supposedly law-abiding government. It claimed the right of this nation to go clandestinely into others and 'take certain actions in the intelligence field to help implement foreign policy and protect national security.' That is a beautified way of saying 'to subvert legitimate governments by bribery, trickery and violence.' . . .

"The 'candor' of Mr. Ford's remarks, far from being praiseworthy, had the effects not just of admitting that international subversion goes on, but of giving it public, official approval, and from the President of the

United States. What does this tell us about a man who in pardoning Richard Nixon said he believed that 'right makes might' and who has just called in the United Nations for a cooperative world order based on 'accommodation, moderation and consideration of the interests of others'?"

Wicker concluded that the "inexperienced" Ford, "an instinctive hawk," had "been sold a bill of goods by the C.I.A. and Secretary of State Kissinger, who presided over the national security body that authorized the C.I.A. interventions in Chile."

The way to handle this, he said, echoing editorials in the major U.S. newspapers, is to strengthen the role of Congress in "overseeing" CIA activities.

Members of Congress, caught short by the unexpected exposure of the CIA, have used the convenient ploy of expressing "surprise." The most "surprised" seem to be those who were in the best position to know the full story from the beginning.

These include Senator Stuart Symington, a member of the Senate Armed Services Intelligence Subcommittee; Senator John Stennis, the subcommittee's chairman and also chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee; and Representative Dante Fascell, chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Latin American Subcommittee—all of whom claim to have been "unaware" of what the CIA was doing.

On September 17, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee voted unanimously to investigate the CIA role in Chile. Representative Thomas Morgan, chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, said they, too, would take up the Chile issue. "This is our one chance to get oversight of the CIA and we're going to grab it," he promised.

However, the *New York Times* reported, the senators favor only "a preliminary 'pulling together' of testimony and not yet a full-fledged investigation into the foreign policy of the Nixon Administration."

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USLA: 'Open CIA files!'

The United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) has responded to the recent exposures of the CIA role in Chile with a campaign to inform the American people of these crimes.

The latest USLA "Action Letter" states: "The 'Chile Revelations,' as they have come to be known, have proven without a doubt that the United States was intimately involved in preparing the way for the military takeover on September 11, 1973 and was therefore a conspirator in the murder, torture and imprisonment of thousands of Chileans. . . .

"We believe that the American public has the right to know the truth about U.S. involvement and we are therefore calling for a campaign of protest to U.S. governmental officials around the following demands:

"Open the secret files—publish Colby's testimony!

"End U.S. aid to the Chilean military government!

"Free all political prisoners!"

Part of USLA's campaign to get out the truth about CIA operations will be through organizing public meetings for Professor Lawrence



Militant/Gene Yzquierdo

Detroit, Sept. 11

Boston Blacks organize against racists

By JOAN PALTRINERI

BOSTON—The Boston school system ended its first full week of court-ordered desegregation, with racist violence increasing as the white school-boycott continues. But many Black parents and students are determined to carry through the desegregation plan. One Black student summed up this mood saying, "Nobody's gonna stop me from getting my education."

Although the white boycott has been building strength here—school attendance Sept. 20 was 71 percent, down from a high point of 76 percent earlier in the week—and attracting racist scum from other parts of the country, including Nazis and members of the Ku Klux Klan, a protest rally is slated for Sept. 26 to galvanize opposition to the racist offensive.

In predominantly white South Boston, several hundred whites gathered along the streets to taunt and jeer the buses as they arrived carrying Blacks from nearby Roxbury to attend South Boston High School. The racists yelled: "Niggers go Home."

Inside the schools teachers did not greet Black students with the usual enthusiasm of opening school days. Instead, students were pushed and ordered around.

Then, as students boarded buses to go home, racists screamed, "Niggers aren't human," and "Niggers are animals," and heaved rocks at the buses.

Violence against Black students was not confined to South Boston, but spread to other parts of the city. Black students were injured and buses were stoned in Roslindale, Hyde Park, Mattapan, and Dorchester.

In Jamaica Plain, a .30-caliber bullet was fired through the front entrance of the high school. In the Andrew Square section of Dorchester, a mob of white youths attacked a lone Black who was standing on a street corner waiting for a public bus. Even one of the newly assigned Black teach-

ers at South Boston High had applied for a transfer by week's end. He had been attacked by a white student who held a pellet gun to his head.

The escalation of racist violence has grown beyond incidents directly related to school desegregation. It is not safe to be Black in South Boston. A South Boston city bus driver was attacked by two whites and a Black cab driver was hit by a brick as he drove his cab through a "Southie" housing project.

The role of the Boston police, media, and city officials from Mayor Kevin White on down, has been to conciliate the racists and play down the acts of violence against Blacks, claiming they do not want to draw attention to the negative aspects of desegregation. As a result of this "go easy" attitude, the violence has increased and virulent racist forces from other parts of the country have begun to come into Boston to give their support to the anti-Black actions.

David Duke, the so-called Grand Dragon of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, arrived in Boston from Baton Rouge, La., on Sept. 18. He addressed a group of 300 in South Boston the next day, urging them to join the KKK and fight to keep South Boston schools all white. Klan members here are boasting that their ranks have swelled in the past few weeks.

Police in South Boston stopped a school bus with Virginia license plates and a large "white power" sign. In it were seven persons dressed in Nazi-type uniforms. The group, which identified itself as the National Socialist White People's Party, was escorted out of the state.

Maceo Dixon, cochairman of the Socialist Workers 1974 National Campaign Committee, has been touring the Boston area for the Massachusetts socialist campaign. He has urged support for the rally Sept. 26



Capitalist politicians give backhanded support to efforts to stop desegregation plan

to protest the racist offensive.

In a statement urging support for the protest rally, Ollie Bivins, SWP candidate for lieutenant governor, and his running mates said:

"Every day more and more Black students are injured and Mayor White, Governor Sargent, and other so-called friends of the Black community have done nothing. Their response to the violence against Black youth is in keeping with their long-standing policy of giving backhanded support to the racists who have fought school desegregation in Boston for the last 10 years."

The socialist candidates urged the broadest support for the right of Black students to attend any schools they choose. They hailed efforts by residents of the Columbia Point housing projects to halt the racist attacks on

their community. (See accompanying article.)

Initial supporters of the protest rally include: Black student groups at Boston State College, Boston College, Tufts, Harvard, Northeastern, and University of Mass.

Other endorsers include Kermit Morrissey, president of Boston State; State Representative Bill Owens; Salvador Luria, Nobel prize laureate; Rex Weng, vice-president, AFL-CIO state labor council; Elliot Small, area director, National Union of Hospital and Health Care Workers Local 1199; John Mitchell, international representative of Amalgamated Meatcutters.

Also, Pat Bonner-Lyons, Young Workers Liberation League; Socialist Workers Party; and Young Socialist Alliance.

Blacks combat racists with observation patrol

By MACEO DIXON

BOSTON—The Columbia Point housing projects are set out on a peninsula in Boston Harbor. Four thousand people, mostly Blacks, live there, and it has been the scene of racist attacks. White vigilantes and night riders have used violence to try to stop the desegregation of the schools.

Residents of Columbia Point held

Maceo Dixon is cochairman of the Socialist Workers 1974 National Campaign Committee and a national committee member of the Young Socialist Alliance.

a news conference Sept. 23 to protest the racist violence and to announce their plans to organize an observation patrol to help stop it. The observation groups are checking all traffic coming in and out on the only road into Columbia Point.

The news conference was held in the management office of the Boston Housing Authority in Columbia Point. As you walk into the office you can see bullet holes in the front of the building. Some windows are shot out. The same is true of buildings and windows in other housing units further down the street.

Black youth were observing the traffic. They all had on red, black, and green armbands to identify themselves as part of the observation patrol.

"Columbia Point community is calling this press conference," announced Leon Rock, "to inform the press of the telegram that was sent to Governor Sargent last week requesting that U.S. federal marshals be sent into the projects to intervene, because we felt that the Boston police were not doing an adequate job in terms of securing Columbia Point housing projects. It didn't seem they wanted to do the job. After we received no word from Sargent or Judge Garrity or sen-

ators Brooke and Kennedy, the Columbia Point community decided to secure Columbia Point by any means necessary."

Domingo Soto read a statement saying, "We, the residents of Columbia Point, have demonstrated our willingness to peacefully abide by the law as mandated by the federal court. Our community has been more adversely affected than any other area in the city.

"Residents have been harassed and



White vigilantes and night riders have harassed Columbia Point community.

our children have been stoned by racist whites in South Boston. At night after 5:30, whites have boldly come into our community to further harass us. For the past two weeks the Columbia Point community has been under a virtual state of seige. White-sheeted hoodlums have fired rifle shots at our people. If the mayor, the police, and the courts won't protect us, we shall be forced to organize to protect ourselves by any means necessary."

The residents are making a number of demands upon the city administration. The demands center around protection for the children from mob violence while being bused to and from school and protection for the community from the white racist attacks.

Roger Taylor told how the police are fabricating stories about the conduct of the Black community. He said many Blacks saw a cop fire six shots in the air one night. The next day the capitalist press quoted the cops as saying the shots were fired by Blacks.

Thomas Atkins of the NAACP spoke in defense of the Columbia Point residents, saying their demands and actions were "totally justified."

Remus Smith, a member of the newly formed community observation group, explained that "the kids, the adults, everyone in the community has to organize. There is no war here, yet. What this is is protection for the older people and the kids. That's all."

'The price has to be right'

Cause of world food crisis: profit

By DAVE FRANKEL

"It has not been our policy to use food as a political weapon despite the oil embargo and recent oil price and production decisions," President Gerald Ford told delegates of the United Nations General Assembly Sept. 18, as he attempted to blackmail them by the threat of precisely such action.

Repeating his theme at the opening of the World Energy Conference Sept. 23, Ford piously declared, "When nations use their resources as political weapons against others, the result is human suffering."

Despite these hypocritical homilies, the U.S. government has long used food as a political weapon. "Food is power," Secretary of Agriculture Earl Butz told *New York Times* reporter William Robbins in an interview this summer.

Butz stressed "the diplomatic leverage that world dependence on American grain provides," according to a report by Robbins in the July 5 *Times*.

An example of U.S. policy in this area is that nearly one half of all U.S. aid under the so-called Food for Peace program went to the governments of Cambodia and South Vietnam in the year ending in June 1974. Most of the rest went to the dictatorship in South Korea. This "Food for Peace" was then sold to the people of these countries and the proceeds added to military budgets.

When the Allende government came to power in Chile, loans for food were halted by Washington. But now that a pro-imperialist junta of torturers and book-burners has been installed there with CIA help, the Agency for International Development estimates that \$35-million in loans out of a total of \$50-million to all of Latin America will be going to Chile in the coming fiscal year.

But while Washington's food-for-war program bolsters U.S. puppets, colonial countries wrestling with famine get only token aid. Dan Morgan reported in the June 30 *Washington Post*, for instance, that "only \$4.1 million in food giveaways is currently planned for the drought-stricken Sahel region in Africa—one-fortieth of the South Vietnam estimate."

Cooperation—Ford style

"The problems of food and energy can be resolved on the basis of cooperation," pontificated Ford to the UN delegates.

But the real thrust of his message was a crude threat to the Arab and other oil-producing nations. In a Sept. 20 editorial the *Christian Science Monitor* tried to justify Ford's ultimatum.

"His tough address at the United Nations reflects Washington's concern about a possible world economic crisis brought on by high oil prices," write the *Monitor* editors. They claim that the money flowing into the Middle East "threatens to undermine the international monetary system and upset the world economy."

An even more belligerent note was struck by *Business Week* Sept. 14 in a special issue evaluating the prospects for the 1970s. "The disruption of the whole international payments system threat-



Drought victim searches for seeds. In eyes of U.S. food monopolies, famine is good for business.

ens to make oil a fighting issue for some countries before the Seventies end. . . ." said the editors of this financial weekly.

"The threat of war against the producers by one or more of the users," they continued, "will be a real one until a bargain on oil prices is struck."

But the threat of a world economic crisis was impending long before the changes in the price of oil in October 1973. In fact, the roaring world inflation was first heralded by the rise in food prices. The United States is the world's biggest food exporter, but there is no hue and cry from government and business for a reduction in these prices!

Moreover, the U.S. is the leading world exporter of eight of the 20 raw material commodities whose prices rose the most between 1970 and 1973. The American capitalists never viewed the tens of billions flowing into their coffers as a threat to the world economy.

They never worried about the price of oil being too high either, until some of the profits began going to the producing countries. Now they are trying to blame the growing crisis of world capitalism on the Arabs. A similar tactic was used in the 1930s, when the most popular scapegoats were the "Jewish bankers."

As for the "cooperation" that Ford has in mind, it means the cooperation of the rest of the world in continuing to enrich U.S. corporations. The U.S. capitalists have no intention of making any sacrifices in the interests of world economic stability. That's for others to do. The alternative, Ford explained, is "confrontation."

Reaping the harvest

The unheard-of profits that U.S. oil companies pumped in during the past year have tended to overshadow the equally enormous profits being harvested by U.S. agribusiness. The famine in Africa and India is good for business—because

high demand drives up prices—and the capitalists have no intention of letting a few tens of millions of human lives stand in the way of a good profit.

The March 15 issue of *Forbes*, a business magazine, lists the number-one "pitfall" that might undermine the "rosy projections" of U.S. agribusiness for 1974 as "good weather conditions around the world. . . ."

Food is now the largest single export of the U.S. The value of U.S. food exports has jumped from \$8-billion in the fiscal year ending in June 1972 to \$21.3-billion in the year ending in June 1974. Furthermore, the U.S. food monopolies have control of almost the entire world food market. They account for more than 50 percent of the world's wheat exports, 75 percent of its corn exports, 90 percent of its soybean exports, and about 25 percent of its rice exports.

The degree of monopoly control of this export trade is indicated by the fact that one company, Cargill, Inc., accounts for more than 22 percent of U.S. wheat exports. Three large companies—Cargill, Continental, and Cook—bought up 90 percent of the 1972-73 soybean harvest.

U.S. food policy

These food monopolies have benefited immensely from the notorious government payments for keeping land out of production. Other government aid included the practice of maintaining high food prices through price supports. The government would buy up "surplus" agricultural produce when the market price fell below a certain point, and either destroy it or stockpile it. The "Food for Peace" program originated as a way of getting some benefit out of this stockpiled food.

In view of this artificial price-support policy, Henry Kissinger's complaint at the UN General Assembly Sept. 23 strikes an especially ironic note. "Unlike food prices," said Kissinger, "the high cost of oil is not the result of economic factors, of an actual shortage of capacity or of the free play of supply and demand. Rather it is caused by deliberate decisions to restrict production and maintain an artificial price level."

The U.S. policy of curtailing food production in order to keep prices up coincided with a particularly poor world harvest in 1972, creating world food shortages and soaring prices. In the face of booming prices, U.S. agribusiness sought a temporary suspension of most government programs aimed at limiting food production and stockpiling "excess" supplies. They wanted a free hand to exploit the favorable market.

As a result, U.S. grain reserves have been largely liquidated, shrinking to about 27 days of world consumption compared to 66 days in 1972.

The government's attitude was revealed last year at the hearings on the confirmation of Henry Kissinger as secretary of state. The following exchange occurred between Senator Hubert Humphrey (D-Minn.) and Kissinger:

HUMPHREY: Would you initiate . . . a discussion amongst the main exporting nations and the main importing nations as to what we are going to do in the coming year to relieve conditions of human misery and, in some areas, famine, in the light of the world food supply situation?

KISSINGER: You know, Senator Humphrey, that your suggestion runs counter to all our traditional

CARE's solution for hunger

The picture of hungry children around the world reaching out for CARE packages from the United States is a familiar one throughout the country.

But a different picture is given by a report in the May 26 *Boston Globe* by William Drummond.

"After 25 years of watching India's population grow unchecked," writes Drummond, "a number of agencies are asking whether it makes sense to save thousands of children who will only add to the population explosion."

"In a confidential report by CARE, a nutritionist said:

"It is a certainty that today in the Third World severe malnutrition is the only remaining brake on the rate of population growth."

Drummond explains "The CARE report, which officials said does not reflect policy but only a point of view, states that it is in India's long-term interest to discourage infant feeding programs which do not guarantee concomitant reductions in live births."



Victims of hunger in India. CARE report proposed letting infants starve—for 'humanitarian' reasons!

drive of American agribusiness

attitudes with respect to agriculture.

HUMPHREY: Correct.

World attention has been focused on the scourge of hunger by the disastrous famine in Africa. In Ethiopia alone estimates of the dead range from 250,000 to 400,000.

Now the harvest in India has fallen below expectation by an amount equivalent to the food needs of 50 million people for one year, mainly because Indian farmers were unable to afford the sharp increases in the price of fertilizer. On top of this, Pakistan and Bangladesh have had the worst floods in their history.

Even without such calamities, half of the world's 3.7 billion people live in perpetual hunger. The United Nations Children's Fund estimates that in "normal" times there are some 10 million children in the world in danger of dying from hunger at any given moment!

"The underpinning of the calamity is fairly clear," said the editors of the *New York Times* July 9. "It is an implacable increase in the demand for food."

The argument that the world faces a crisis because of overpopulation is being pushed from all sides. The UN has named 1974 as "World Population Year," while the capitalist press has almost unanimously declared that the food problem is caused by too many babies.

This Malthusian explanation for the world food crisis has the advantage of exempting the capitalist system from blame—a point that Nathaniel Reed, an assistant secretary of the interior, took pains to stress in the Aug. 5 *New York Times*.

"Given the staggering growth rates of technological- and population-based problems," wrote Reed, "I suspect that within a decade all will realize that the main problems of the environment do not arise from temporary and accidental malfunctions of existing economic and social systems."

The problem, in Reed's words, is "too many people have been making demands which cannot be met. . . ."

Food and population

But let's take a closer look at the argument that hunger is due to excess population.

The truth is that the problem facing the masses of people in the underdeveloped countries is not that there is not enough food, but that they do not have enough money to buy the food they need on the capitalist market.

Between 1951 and 1971 world production of wheat, rice, and corn doubled. In the same period the population increased by less than 50 percent. ("Food and Population" by Roger Revelle, in the September 1974 *Scientific American*.)

During this period of expanding food production, the acres under cultivation in the U.S. decreased from 345 million in 1950 to 296 million in 1972.

And the increase in world food production relative to population has continued up to the present time. Per capita food production has exceeded the average amount produced during the years 1961-1965 every single year since 1970. The worst year, 1972, saw per capita world food production at 105 percent of the 1961-65 average. (Food and Agriculture Organization monthly bulletin of Agricultural Economics and Statistics, April 1974.)

The culprit in the current famine is simply an economic system geared to producing everything—including the basic necessities of life—for profit. Speaking of the possibilities of increasing food production, one expert was quoted by *New York Times* reporter William Robbins Aug. 25 as explaining: "Of all the factors involved, the major one is economic—the price has to be right."

Role of technology

Those who try to blame hunger in the world on population growth rely on the "common sense" argument that since the earth and its resources are finite, they can only support a limited number of people.

The neo-Malthusians delight in drawing chilling pictures of a standing-room-only world. They conjure up a new "yellow peril"—the 800 million people of China, we are told, are adding 13.3 million people a year to the population of the world, not to mention the 12.8 million a year being added by India.

They never mention that the population density of India—447 people per square mile—is less than that of Italy, with 469 per square mile. The population density of China stands at 217 per square mile—compared to 247 for France. The Malthusians never seem to worry about the teeming millions in West Germany and Great Britain, whose population densities are 621 and 594 per square mile, respectively.

The question of how many people the earth can support comfortably is a problem of technology.

The April 20 issue of the British financial weekly, the *Economist*, points out, "There can be no doubt of the world's ability to feed itself: 55 per cent of the developing world's arable land is not even under cultivation, and that which is still produces extremely low crop yields."

Furthermore, the amount of land considered arable is constantly rising. Since World War II agronomists have doubled their estimate of land available for food production as a result of factors such as better understanding of tropical soils. And this leaves out food production methods that have been scarcely developed at all, such as fish breeding.

In the U.S., the most productive agricultural area in the world, there is more unused acreage today than there was 50 years ago, because of the increase in abandoned farms.

Capitalist business cycle

Although the immediate world food situation has been exacerbated by natural disasters, it cannot be emphasized too strongly that the current crisis is a classic example of the capitalist business cycle at work.

After years of overproduction of food—from the standpoint of profitable sales—U.S. production cutbacks finally coincided with a bad harvest abroad. The disastrous effects of this crisis are real, but they were no more inevitable than was the energy crisis.

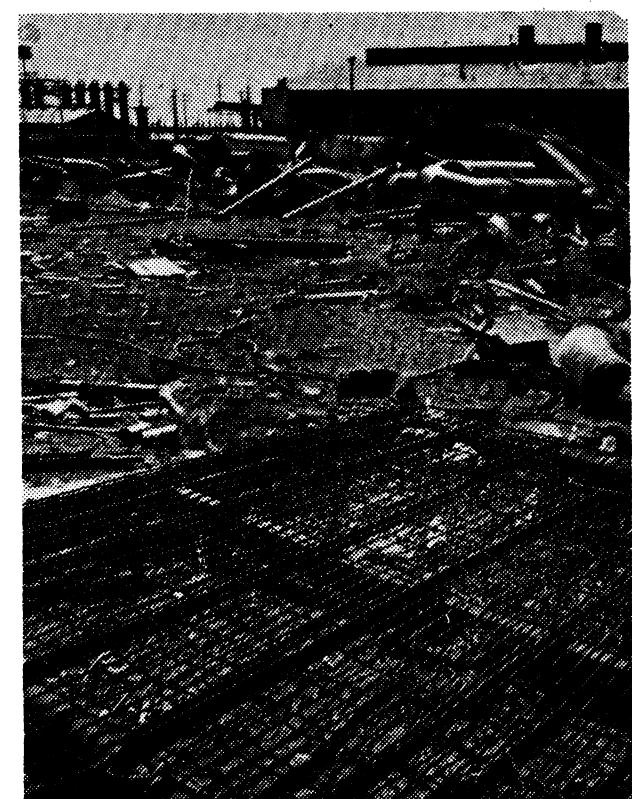
An even clearer example of this is seen in the world fertilizer shortage, which has been another element in the food crisis. This shortage was the principal reason for the seven-million-ton shortfall in India's wheat harvest this spring.

The reason behind the fertilizer shortage was explained in an article in the April 4 *New York Times*:

"Fertilizer companies overexpanded during the nineteen-sixties to take advantage of the worldwide 'green revolution.' Fertilizer prices dropped when manufacturing capacity outran demand. The companies stopped building new plants and cut back on maintenance of the old ones."

"When demand began to catch up with supply two or three years ago, the leaders of the industry remembered the economic pinch of the nineteen-sixties and balked at spending more millions on expansion until they could be sure it would be profitable. They now seem to have overcome their fears."

While the use of fertilizer on crops in the underdeveloped world yields at least twice as much grain as the use of extra fertilizer on American



This Texas fertilizer plant was shut down in 1973 because it wasn't profitable enough.

crops, farmers in the U.S. are able to pay more than farmers in India. They get the fertilizer that is available.

And for every dollar's worth of fertilizer that countries like India are unable to buy this year, this will have to buy at least \$5 worth of food from U.S. agribusiness next year.

The final catch in this cannibal setup in which the rich feed on the poor and the poor eat nothing was described by Juan de Onis in the Sept. 22 *New York Times*. He explains that "the reduction in fertilizer consumption will particularly endanger food supplies, since export crops such as cotton are more profitable."

More than 80 years ago Frederick Engels wrote, "The splitting up of society into a small class, immoderately rich, and a large class of wage-laborers devoid of all property, brings it about that this society smothers in its own superfluity, while the great majority of its members are scarcely, or not at all, protected from extreme want."

"This condition becomes every day more absurd and more unnecessary. It must be gotten rid of; it can be gotten rid of."

His words were never more timely.

The land and factories that the people of the world depend on for life itself must be taken out of the hands of the giant corporations and agribusinesses whose sole concern is profit.

They must be run in the interests of the vast majority of humanity, as part of a worldwide plan decided on democratically by the masses of working people the world over.

The system of private ownership and private profit, of the exploitation of the weak by the strong, and of cutthroat competition, must be done away with. It has already led to two world wars and to worldwide economic crisis, and it threatens to lead to a new catastrophe even worse than those we have seen in the past.

What is needed is nothing less than the socialist reorganization of society.



Harvesting wheat in China. Malthusians paint specter of 'yellow tide' overwhelming the earth, but population density of China is one third that of Great Britain.

Wounded Knee jurors protest frame-up, demand end to victimization of Indians

By LEE GEARHART

ST. PAUL—Seven of the jurors and three of the alternate jurors in the Wounded Knee trial have signed a strongly worded letter to U.S. Attorney General William Saxbe asking that all charges be dropped against all defendants arrested during last year's protest on the Pine Ridge Indian reservation.

The jurors, with others, have formed a committee to organize support for dismissal of the charges. Five of the jurors attended a meeting Sept. 23 to discuss how to organize the effort.

The Wounded Knee jury never reached a verdict in the case of American Indian Movement (AIM) leaders Dennis Banks and Russell Means. Deliberations were halted and the trial abruptly came to an end Sept. 16 when U.S. District Judge Fred Nichol dismissed the charges against the two men, citing government misconduct throughout the trial.

"This jury is going far beyond saying 'not guilty,'" says defense attorney Mark Lane.

He said the jurors were not activists before the trial, but "they are becoming active for the first time."

The new committee for dropping the charges is called Jurors and Others for Reconciliation. Lane said that the group is preparing for a meeting with Saxbe in which prominent religious and trade-union leaders, academics,

Join the fight to get the charges dropped against all the Wounded Knee defendants. Send a telegram or letter urging dismissal of the charges to Attorney General William Saxbe, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. Send a copy to Jurors and Others for Reconciliation, Commodore Hotel, 79 Western Avenue, St. Paul, Minn. 55102.

members of Congress, and others will join in supporting dismissal of the charges. No date has been set for the meeting.

About 100 persons still face frame-up charges stemming from the Wounded Knee action, which took place from Feb. 27 to May 5, 1973. Among those charged are Clyde Bellecourt, Stanley Holder, and Carter Camp, who face a series of felony counts.

Jurors' letter

The letter to Saxbe by the jurors observes that they were originally chosen because of their impartiality.

"Possibly more than any other group of citizens, we've had the opportunity to hear the facts and judge them," the letter says.

"As you know," the letter continues, "we voted unanimously to acquit both the defendants of the charges of conspiracy."

"We think it is important for you to know that while all the jurors undertook their obligations very seriously while we were a jury, some of us believe that our obligations continue. It is for that reason we have written this letter."

The jurors continue: "We the undersigned wish you to know that we could not have voted to convict either of the two defendants on any of the charges and that we would not have voted to convict because each of us concluded that there was not enough evidence to do so in spite of the fact that the government presented evidence for 98 days and the defendants'



Wounded Knee jury panel. In letter to Attorney General William Saxbe, 10 of the jurors said, 'we could not have voted to convict the defendants on any of the charges . . . '

response was comprised of five witnesses."

'Drop the charges'

"In our view, a government that cannot, in an eight-month trial, present enough evidence against the two leaders of the Wounded Knee siege to secure a conviction on any count, should for moral and ethical reasons drop the criminal charges against all the other Indian people and their supporters.

"Since the two leaders were guilty of no crime we believe the others should not be prosecuted for following them. It is in the spirit of reconciliation and redemption that we urge you to respect this suggestion and to join with us and other Americans in an effort to bind up the wounds that have been caused by this, our longest and perhaps our least honorable war."

The first juror to sign the letter was Therese Cherrier, the juror whose sudden stroke ended jury deliberations the day after they had begun.



Chief prosecuting attorney R.D. Hurd had told the press when Cherrier became ill that he believed that she was "a convicting juror" and that he thought she was key to obtaining conviction of Banks and Means. The government eventually decided not to accept an 11-member jury but to instead seek a mistrial.

Judge Nichol responded by dropping the charges.

According to Lane, Cherrier told him that she wanted to be the first juror to sign the letter so that Hurd would never again say she's "a convicting juror."

Cherrier, as it turned out, was for acquittal of Banks and Means on all five counts.

Among the jurors signing the letter demanding that charges be dropped were Susan Overas, a 19-year-old college student; Joyce Selander, a young woman who is a member of the security force at Macalaster College in St. Paul; and Maureen Connan, a 23-year-old librarian.

Lane said the jurors have divided up committee tasks, with one juror calling religious leaders, another juror calling people in the academic world, and another calling public figures for support.

Lane said that Banks and Means were getting in touch with tribal chairmen and traditional chiefs for the upcoming meeting with Saxbe.

At the Saxbe meeting the demand will be made that "all the charges be dropped and that there be a whole new approach to Indians in this country," Lane said.

The jurors group developed out of a discussion several defense lawyers had with three of the jurors in the first hours after Judge Nichol dismissed the charges. The jurors' decision to join the fight in support of the remaining Wounded Knee defendants is especially significant because the Wounded Knee trial was a frame-up, and the government was out to select a jury that was least disposed to support an action like the Wounded Knee seizure.

Prosecutor Hurd admitted earlier that the U.S. Attorney's office used its staff to run checks on potential jurors.

The government attempted to learn any sympathies the jurors might have, and if there was any indication they might be likely to acquit, the government challenged them.

The Wounded Knee trial jury is the latest and most extraordinary example of the "revolt of the juries," a recent trend that has seen virtually every

major political trial in the last few years end in an acquittal or a hung jury.

It is an illustration of the radicalization taking place in the society at large, and an indication that jurors, whatever their backgrounds, are less and less likely to stomach the illegal acts of government agencies like the FBI, which trample on basic civil liberties in an effort to get political activists convicted.

Why does gov't lose?

The government recognizes the situation it is in.

On Sept. 17, Attorney General Saxbe ordered a Justice Department study of the Wounded Knee trial and similar political prosecutions lost by the government.

According to Deputy Attorney General Laurence Silberman, "It is a study not designed to apportion blame, but rather to teach us if there is a way to better handle these kinds of trials—I mean the kinds where defendants assert a political cause as part of their trial."

A *United Press International* dispatch further quoted Silberman as

Mark Lane, a defense attorney for Dennis Banks and Russell Means in the Wounded Knee trial, will appear at the Twin Cities Militant Forum Oct. 11. He will speak on the recent trial victory and the struggle to get the charges dropped against all the Wounded Knee defendants. The forum begins at 8 p.m. at Skoglund Hall, 25 University Ave. S.E., Minneapolis.

saying, "If you look back over the years, the last four, five, or six years, the Government's record in those kinds of cases in terms of winning and losing is not so good.

"The Attorney General wants to do all that we can to make sure that we are as well prepared as we can be in trying such cases without implying fault on those trying such cases."

This is fancy language for saying that the government is trying to find new ways of covering up its illegal methods and basic objective of driving groups such as AIM out of existence.

That the government has no intention of changing its ways was evidenced two days after the charges were dropped when the Justice Department named R.D. Hurd and Richard Gienapp, the two main prosecuting attorneys in the Wounded Knee trial, as among the 10 top U.S. attorneys in the country.

Ironically, in dismissing the charges, Nichol had accused Hurd of deceiving him, of negligence in his performance as a government attorney, and of putting the goal of gaining a conviction ahead of seeing that justice was done. Nichol also indicated that the government had fabricated evidence and bribed a witness.

The jurors, meanwhile, are pressing ahead to get the entire Wounded Knee frame-up ended.

Last February, Mark Lane, speaking at a Militant Forum in Minneapolis, predicted that the jurors in the Wounded Knee trial would become a "runaway jury," not only acquitting the defendants, but going on to convict the government for its crimes against American Indians.

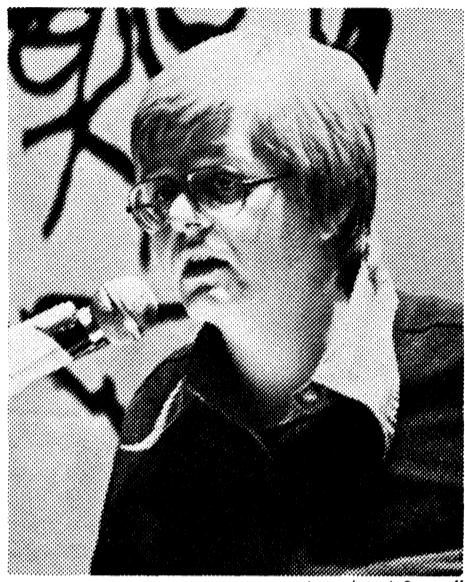
Seven months later, Lane's prediction is starting to come true.

Socialists blast Common Cause stand on disclosure of campaign contributor lists

By ROBERT SPENCER

Placing itself in opposition to broad civil liberties support for the Socialist Workers Party's challenge to the disclosure provisions of the campaign "reform" laws, Common Cause has demanded that the Minnesota Socialist Workers Campaign Committee be forced to hand the government a list of its contributors.

In a letter submitted to the Minnesota State Ethics Commission, Common Cause argues that the rights of



Militant/Mark Satinoff

Socialist candidate Jane Van Deusen calls for national effort to win reversal of Common Cause stand.

contributors to SWP campaigns should be subordinated to the need to inform the public of the source of campaign funds.

Common Cause, a liberal reform group that calls itself a "citizens' lobby," contends that exempting the SWP would create "dangerous loopholes" in the law. It also questions whether the

party has adequately proven, in hearings before the commission, a pattern of systematic government surveillance and harassment, and it says an exemption is unnecessary since the SWP has an "adequate alternative remedy" in its suit seeking an injunction against illegal government surveillance.

The Minnesota socialists have refused to comply with the campaign law on the grounds that to turn over lists of contributors would expose campaign supporters to spying and attempts at intimidation by the FBI and other government agencies. The FBI has admitted that it spies on and attempts to disrupt the SWP. The admissions came as the result of a suit against the government attacks, filed by noted constitutional attorney Leonard Boudin. This suit is being supported by the Political Rights Defense Fund.

Nationwide challenge

The socialists have launched a nationwide challenge to the campaign disclosure laws. The American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) filed suit Sept. 10 against the Federal Election Campaign Act on behalf of Socialist Workers campaign committees around the country. A similar suit has been launched against the state disclosure law in California, and challenges are being prepared in several other states.

The Minnesota law allows exemptions from the reporting requirement if a commission determines that rights of contributors would be violated by disclosure. A number of prominent figures in the Black, labor, and radical movements have backed the SWP's request for exemption from the Minnesota law.

Hearings on the SWP's request have been going on since July, and a de-

cision is expected soon. In hundreds of pages of documents and 15 hours of testimony, the socialists have shown that government attacks on their supporters meet the law's requirement for an exemption. Although subpoenaed by the commission, the FBI refused to testify at the hearings to respond to the SWP's charges.

'Sinister forces'

The Common Cause letter, signed by associate general counsel Kenneth Guido, argues that an exemption for the SWP would lead to loopholes "through which powerful and sometimes sinister forces in our society [could] use money to corrupt the political process." Guido also expresses doubt that there is conclusive evidence of harm done the SWP and its supporters by government attacks.

In the letter, Guido asserts his opposition to government harassment of the SWP, but adds, "Since there are other means available to terminate the FBI harassment to which the Socialist Workers Party claims it has been subjected, its request for an exemption, if based solely on these grounds, should be denied."

Syd Stapleton, national secretary of the Political Rights Defense Fund, answered this contention by explaining, "The fact that the SWP has filed a suit against government harassment doesn't mean that the harassment has been stopped. Our suit has already been in the courts for 14 months, and the government is stalling at every turn. There's no telling how long it will be before we get a ruling. What is the SWP supposed to do in the meantime?"

"In this case," Stapleton pointed out, "there is no 'adequate alternative remedy' for those contributors whose

names will be put in the FBI computers, or whose jobs may be endangered, or whose phones may be tapped—all of which is going on right now."

ACLU staff counsel Joel Gora, one of the attorneys in the suit against the federal campaign law, said, "There has been no decision in the SWP's suit against federal government harassment, and even if there were a complete victory in that case, the harassment could continue from other sources. It just makes no sense to hinge an exemption on a possible future decision."

The SWP candidate for governor of Minnesota, Jane Van Deusen, said she plans to answer the Common Cause letter at the next hearing of the Ethics Commission.

"Common Cause," she said, "turns things on their head when they argue that protecting our rights would weaken the law. Any law that violates constitutional rights deserves to be weakened!"

Van Deusen called for a national effort to win a reversal of the Common Cause position. "I'm sure many members of Common Cause will be strongly opposed to the position taken by their organization, as will many other defenders of democratic rights. We intend to ask Common Cause members and others around the country to urge the national leadership of Common Cause to reverse its position on the SWP challenge."

"I believe," she added, "that these laws won't stop the corruption in capitalist politics any more than the 1971 campaign 'reform' law stopped Watergate. But I urge everyone, regardless of their position on the laws, to oppose their use against parties that, like the SWP, are the targets of vicious and systematic government attacks."

Mexican Independence Day march

5,000 Chicanos in Denver protest repression

By PETER SEIDMAN

DENVER—As district judge Joseph Lilly opened proceedings in the frame-up trial of Gary Garrison, 5,000 Chicanos gathered outside the city and county building here to demand justice for Garrison and other victims of racist oppression.

Garrison, an activist in the Crusade for Justice, is facing frame-up charges of first-degree arson, criminal mischief, and conspiracy for allegedly throwing a bomb through a paint-store window last January.

The opening of the trial coincided with a march and rally held to mark Mexican Independence Day, Sept. 16. Demonstrators handed out tens of thousands of a special issue of the Crusade for Justice newspaper, *El Gallo*, which explained Garrison's case, as they marched through downtown Denver on their way to a rally at the state capitol building.

The marchers were greeted with applause and many clenched fists from thousands of spectators who lined the streets along the route of march.

A large number of floats and banners in the march indicated the many organizations in the Chicano community participating in the action. A contingent of more than 300 people marched behind a large float from the Crusade for Justice; they carried signs commemorating Florencio Granaño, Reyes Martínez, Heriberto Térán, Neva Romero, Una Jaakola, and

Francisco Dougherty, the six activists killed in Boulder, Colo., last May, in two murderous explosions.

There were also contingents from the Youth Employment Service; the National Chicano Health Organization; the Congress of Hispanic Educators; La Rasa Head Start; the Pinto (prisoners) program; a girl scout troop; West, Manual, Kennedy, and East high schools; the Chicano Welfare Rights Organization; the Chicano Studies Department and MECHA chapter from Metropolitan State College; the United Farm Workers Union; and others.

In face of wide support for the demonstration among Chicano students, the school board agreed to excuse students to participate. A large portion of the marchers were high school students, although demonstration organizers noted that a significant number of older Chicanos—more than in previous such actions—participated.

At the rally, Crusade for Justice leader Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales explained that while Sept. 16 is celebrated in Mexico as "independence" day, the people of Mexico are not really free. Although there is formal independence, he explained, the Mexican government is a repressive one that cooperates with the exploitation of Mexico by U.S. imperialism. For this reason organizers of today's march, Gonzales said, had decided to call it Mexican Liberation Day, in order to draw attention to the on-



Militant/Frank Lord
Rally at state capitol demanded justice for Gary Garrison, who faces frame-up arson and bombing charges.

going struggles of both Chicanos and *mexicanos*.

Gonzales explained how at last year's rally Crusade speakers had said that Nixon was a crook. "Now these politicians all admit it," he said. "Now Nixon is a pardoned criminal."

Gonzales blasted Secretary of State Henry Kissinger and vice-president-designate Nelson Rockefeller. "Don't be awed by talk about Kissinger," he said. "Kissinger was bred by Rockefeller. And Rockefeller's family has

murdered people in Bolivia and Chile and South Africa. The people who run Guatemala are trained by Rockefeller. Standard Oil is owned by Rockefeller.

"And who appointed Rockefeller? Ford! How would you like the head of your household to be appointed by a criminal guilty of obstructing justice?"

Arturo "Bones" Rodríguez, candidate of La Raza Unida Party for the Colo-
Continued on page 30

Interview with Leonard Boudin

Defense attorney discusses outlook

By CINDY JAQUITH

What are the prospects for the fight to defend democratic rights in the post-Nixon period? The outlook is optimistic, says Leonard Boudin, the most widely acclaimed civil liberties attorney in the United States today.

In a recent interview with *The Militant*, Boudin discussed the impact of Watergate on the climate for civil liberties and on cases such as the suit against illegal government surveillance, being conducted on behalf of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and Young Socialist Alliance (YSA).

Boudin, the general counsel for the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, is well-known for his role as attorney for the defense in numerous government frame-up cases, including the Pentagon papers trial, the Harrisburg Seven case, the trial of Dr. Benjamin Spock, and the Fort Jackson antiwar GIs case.

In the current suit filed by Boudin on behalf of the SWP and YSA, the socialists are demanding an injunction against illegal government surveillance and harassment, and \$27-million in damages. The SWP and YSA cite a broad range of government assaults on their rights, including mail tampering, wiretapping, burglary, police infiltration, and bombing. The Political Rights Defense Fund is organizing support for the suit.

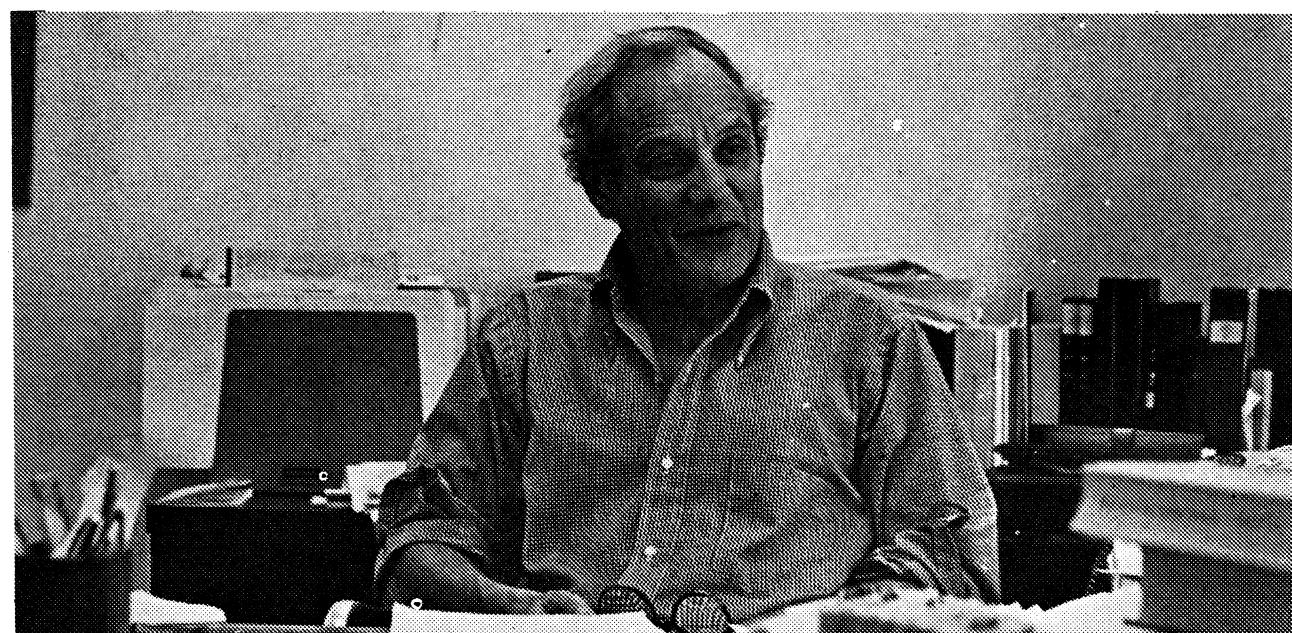
Working with Boudin on the case is attorney Herbert Jordan, who was also interviewed by *The Militant*.

"In 1974 we are in a healthier legal situation than we were in during any of several years preceding," Boudin said. "When I think of the Harrisburg Seven case in 1971—how macabre that whole thing was—or the attacks on freedom of the press by Nixon and Agnew, I don't think the situation is anywhere near as bad now as it was then."

Today the great majority of people are repulsed by government wiretapping and use of agents provocateurs. "Eight years ago, perhaps 20 percent would have opposed these things," Boudin said.

Gov't on defensive

"There has been a marked decline in the aggressiveness of the government since Watergate began. We have not had as many conspiracy cases



BOUDIN: 'In 1974 we are in a healthier situation for defending democratic rights.'

Militant/Cindy Jaquith

against the left in the last two years. In most of the cases now, the Nixon administration is protecting *itself* against conspiracy charges," Boudin said.

"So overall," he continued, "we have a better situation. Legal action like the Socialist Workers Party suit against government attacks, and the suit brought by the American Civil Liberties Union to exempt the SWP from campaign disclosure laws, and very important."

The outrage over Ford's pardon of Nixon has only increased public support for challenges to the government's attacks on democratic rights.

Boudin commented on the pardon, noting that he and other lawyers in his office have studied the question of presidential pardons extensively in connection with another case, that of former Teamsters president James Hoffa.

Boudin is representing Hoffa in a suit to overturn a condition in his 1971 pardon by Nixon that prohibits Hoffa from holding union office for 10 years. In July, U.S. District Court Judge John Pratt ruled against the suit and Boudin is now appealing the case to the U.S. Court of Appeals.

Pardon & amnesty

"When Mr. Ford announced to the Veterans of Foreign Wars his intention to consider amnesty for opponents of the war," Boudin said, "I became very suspicious. I knew of nothing in his past record to suggest such concern for people who conscientiously opposed a war that almost everybody now recognizes was immoral, illegal, and destructive.

"I believed then and I'm now confirmed in my belief that it was what we call a stage set—a stage set created as background for the Nixon pardon."

"Compare the conditions for those people who conscientiously objected to the war and the conditions that are 'imposed' on former president Nixon," said Boudin. "As far as I can tell, the only condition imposed on Nixon was a negotiated 'peace' between him and Ford. What they negotiated was how 'contrite' Nixon would be—and we know how little contrition he has shown."

"The veterans are supposed to admit they were bad," explained Boudin, "and by veterans I mean veterans of the war that the administration conducted against them. They're supposed to go into service of some kind, in addition to the years they spent abroad or underground."

"Mr. Nixon, on the other hand, is supposed to get \$1-million a year. Those are the conditions. It doesn't seem equal."

Perhaps, Boudin speculated, "we may find Nixon will be ambassador to South Vietnam before we're through. He may be in charge of the tiger cages."

Ford's pardon of Nixon was so universally condemned that even Ford's press secretary, J.F. terHorst, felt compelled to resign. Boudin noted that this was the second time terHorst had refused to go through with a White House ploy. The first was when he refused to print a slanderous article about Boudin that had been cooked up by the White House plumbers.

TerHorst, then a reporter for the *Detroit News*, was given a dishonest, redbaiting sketch of Boudin by Nixon hatchet man Charles Colson.

"Nixon wanted to try to damage Ellsberg's image by attacking me," Boudin explained. "I never met Nixon. He had no particular concern with me, but his job, as he saw it, was to hurt Ellsberg by attacking Ellsberg's lawyers."

The article on Boudin, drawn up in 1971 by White House plumber E. Howard Hunt, called the attorney "famous and notorious for his career-long defense of the Communist Party, Castro Cuba, assorted spies, perjurers, fellow travelers, conspirators, agitators and violent revolutionaries."

Slandered as Soviet agent

Hunt even went so far as to make the absurd charge that Boudin is an agent of the Czechoslovak and Soviet governments.

The purpose of the memo, Boudin explained, was to put across the idea "that I was a pretty dangerous fellow. If Ellsberg had hired me, well maybe there was something unidealistic about him."

"But that memorandum was never picked up by the press," he noted, a sign that such McCarthyite tactics have lost much of their appeal today.

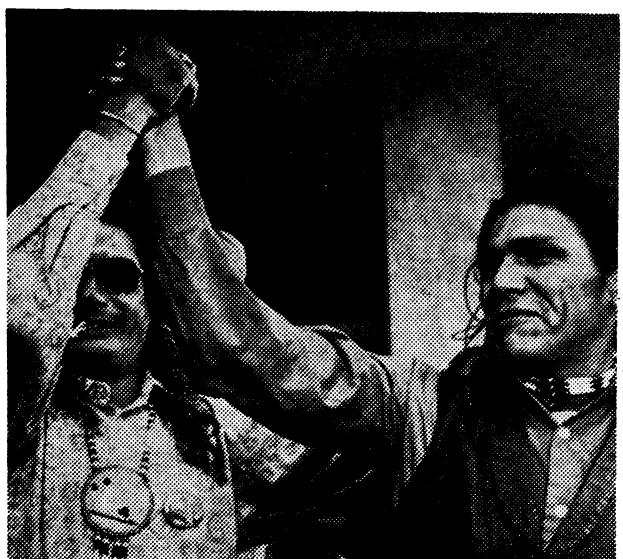
The Hunt memo on Boudin is just one of many documents unearthed by Watergate that have shocked the American people with the picture they paint of the U.S. government.

"I think we knew that underneath, the government was doing all these terrible things," Boudin commented "but I don't think we realized the extent to which it was documenting them!"

"In this sense, I was surprised by some of the revelations that have come out in our SWP suit," he said. Through "discovery" motions, the attorneys have forced the government to turn over several important documents on government harassment.

'SWP Disruption Program'

These include a letter from former FBI chief L. Patrick Gray, ordering a "mail cover" placed on all correspondence to the SWP national headquarters, and documents on the "SWP Disruption Program," an operation initiated by the FBI in



Victory for Wounded Knee defendants Russell Means and Dennis Banks is one sign of changing climate for civil liberties.

Political Rights Defense Fund

The latest Watergate cover-up—Ford's pardon of Nixon—has made it all the more important to get the word out on the socialist suit against Watergate. The Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF), which is backing this suit, needs your help.

The PRDF has been endorsed by several members of the Congressional Black Caucus; the Michigan Federation of Teachers; Olga Madar, president of the Coalition of Labor Union Women; American Indian Movement leader Dennis Banks; United Farm Workers president Cesar Chavez; and many others.

The PRDF is publicizing the socialist suit and raising funds to cover the high legal costs of the case. For more information and to contribute to

the PRDF, send in the coupon below.

Clip and mail to: Political Rights Defense Fund, Box 649 Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003. Telephone: (212) 691-3270.

- () Enclosed is \$_____ to help cover expenses.
() Please send me more information.
() Enclosed is \$_____ for _____ copies of *A Challenge to the Watergate Crimes* (\$1 each, or 75 cents each for five or more).

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Phone _____

for civil liberties today

1961.

The SWP Disruption Program was part of the notorious COINTELPRO ("counterintelligence program") operation also directed against the Black Panthers, student and antiwar groups, and the Communist Party.

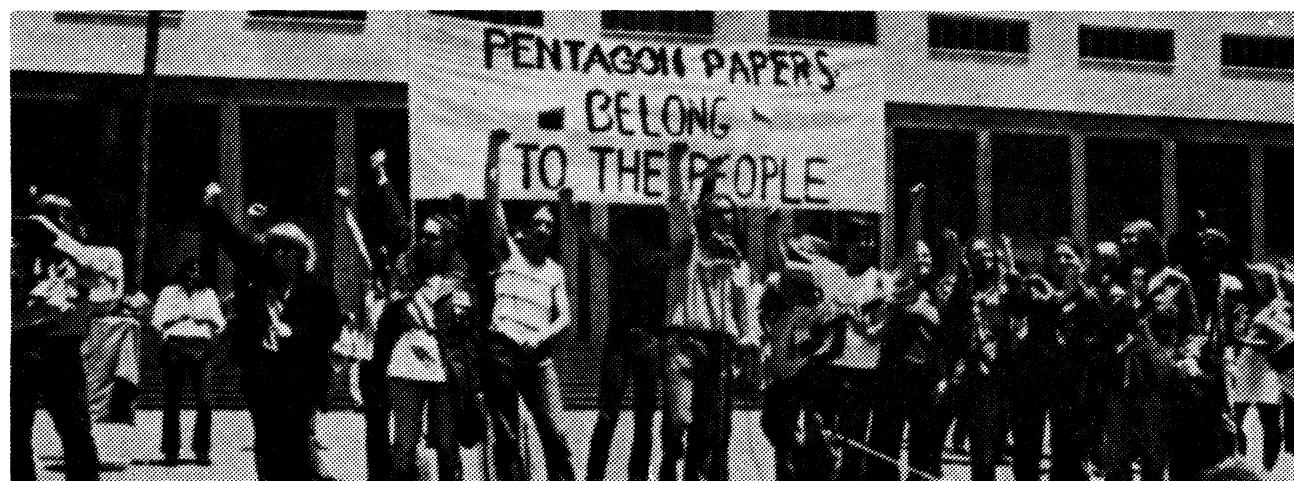
The government has also admitted, in response to the socialist suit, that it has been conducting electronic surveillance of the SWP at least since 1945. FBI officials have conceded that their agents regularly visit the employers, landlords, friends, and relatives of SWP and YSA members.

"My guess is that over the next year we'll get more material," Boudin said. "I think this case is very important because it is an effective device for forcing these documents out, quite aside from the question of injunctive relief and damages."

Herbert Jordan outlined the next immediate steps in the suit. Nixon remains a defendant in the suit, he stressed. "We sued him in his capacity as president and in his individual capacity as a private citizen," Jordan explained. "He no longer enjoys the capacity of president, but he is still of course a private citizen and the suit continues against him as a private citizen."

"Under the federal rules," Jordan continued, "if you sue a public official and he resigns from office, his successor is automatically substituted. Therefore, Ford has been substituted as a defendant in our case."

Jordan placed little faith in Ford's recent claim that "illegal" surveillance has been ended. He noted that the government has always maintained that spying on socialists and other dissenters is legal.



Nixon tried to damage Daniel Ellsberg's image by smearing Boudin, defense attorney in Pentagon papers case, as 'Soviet agent.'

But in any case, Jordan added, "everyone involved in this type of counterintelligence program seems to feel that secrecy is a higher value than truthfulness."

'James Bond image'

"In keeping with the James Bond image, I have little doubt that FBI officials, for example, would lie under oath before they would reveal the secret operations going on."

"They've done it in our case," Jordan said. "We already have them in a clear misrepresentation. In their answers to our suit, the FBI stated that the purpose of the SWP Disruption Program was to 'alert the public' to the ideas of the SWP. But one of the most recent FBI documents we received from them states that the purpose of the program is to *disrupt the party from within*. The purpose of 'alerting the public' was secondary to the more sinister purpose of actual disruption."

This document and others received through the suit establish "a very important principle," Jordan said. "The government has had a policy of attempting to curtail the growth of the SWP and YSA and to tear down some of the growth that had already been achieved."

"This has been done through a program of discrediting or smearing these organizations in the public eye, on the one hand, and on the other hand, by disrupting them from within."

The documents released thus far, of course, merely scratch the surface. The government has thus far rejected the demands of the SWP for those memos dealing with the tactics of the disruption plan, the projects initiated under it, the names of the FBI agents involved, and other relevant data.

A motion will soon be filed to compel the gov-

ernment to turn over this material. The judge will be asked to order the FBI and other government agencies to release documents relevant to the socialists' case.

"The government has raised the objection that there's no 'good cause' for them to produce the documents," Jordan explained. "But it's difficult to imagine materials more relevant to our suit than the 'SWP Disruption Program.' And we have no other way of obtaining a copy of this program, unless we resort to emulating the government in 'black-bag jobs' and 'surreptitious entries.'"

The government also claims that to turn over the documents would expose "confidential informants." This argument is an admission that they are spying on the socialists, in the first place. Besides, Jordan pointed out, if all the government fears is exposure of its undercover agents, why doesn't it release the documents with these names blotted out?

Huston spy plan

The SWP and YSA have also demanded the text of the 1970 secret spy plan prepared by Tom Huston and approved by Nixon. The suit charges that Huston's recommendations for burglaries, mail tampering, police infiltration, and wiretapping have been used against the YSA and SWP.

Proof of this is the 1971 break-in at the Detroit SWP headquarters, in which political files were stolen, and the much-publicized 1973 FBI interception of a letter to the SWP from Lori Paton, a New Jersey high school student.

When portions of the Huston plan were finally

published this summer, the SWP and YSA were listed among the targets of the spy operation. But Congress deleted the most damaging parts of the plan, those that described the details of past and present surveillance of each group.

Since this censored material is at the heart of the SWP's case, Jordan believes it will now be easier to demand the release of this information.

Once the discovery issue is decided in the courts, the attorneys will begin taking "depositions," the sworn statements made before a trial, from people in the case.

Some depositions may be taken sooner, from individuals such as the police officers who investigated the 1971 Detroit burglary. The cops openly speculated that the break-in was "an FBI job." Afterwards, papers stolen in the robbery turned up in FBI and Civil Service files.

'Extraordinary response'

The socialist suit, with its all-encompassing challenge to government attacks on democratic rights, has won widespread support from civil libertarians, Blacks, other radicals, and a growing number of trade unionists. Commenting on the interest in the suit, Boudin said, "I was surprised at the extraordinary public response we have had to this case, a response that has crossed all political and geographic lines."

"No major lawsuit of this omnibus character has been brought by any other organization. Somehow or other, this affirmative action by the SWP—taking on the government on this broad scale—carries with it just the right appeal at the right time."

"I think the next year is going to be a hopeful one, both politically and for legal suits of this kind."

Ex-Nixon aide tells of FBI burglaries since 1969

There is important new evidence that FBI burglaries against antiwar, Black, and socialist groups did not end in 1969, as Nixon asserted, but have continued.

In secret testimony before the Senate Watergate committee last May 7, J. Fred Buzhardt, a former White House attorney, revealed that the "black bag jobs" have continued. The testimony was only recently made public.

Asked if he was "aware of any surreptitious entry or burglary" by government employees, Buzhardt replied "yes," but refused to discuss the targets of the break-ins.

"They don't have anything to do with your case," Buzhardt told the senators. He said the break-ins were "classified" and related to "national security."

These burglaries, he explained, have taken place since Jan. 1, 1969, and were carried out by the FBI. The victims were not members of the news media, government officials, or candidates for public office, he said.

The burglaries therefore were undoubtedly against radical groups, and indeed, many organizations, including the Socialist Workers Party, antiwar groups, and defense committees in "conspiracy" cases have reported political break-ins since 1969.

Many of these burglaries occurred after Nixon approved the 1970 secret spy plan drawn up by Tom Huston. This plan specifically recommended "surreptitious entries" against Blacks, antiwar groups, socialists, and others.

Buzhardt's testimony, noted an *Associated Press* account, raises "new questions about Nixon's claim that [the] top-secret intelligence gathering plan he approved in 1970 was withdrawn before it was implemented. . . .

"The Senate Watergate committee reported that it had found no documentary evidence of the withdrawal and said it had obtained several memos suggesting that the plan was 'still quite alive' nearly two months after the rejection Nixon reported."

Asked about Buzhardt's statements on FBI burglaries, a Justice Department spokesman claimed, "We don't do it."

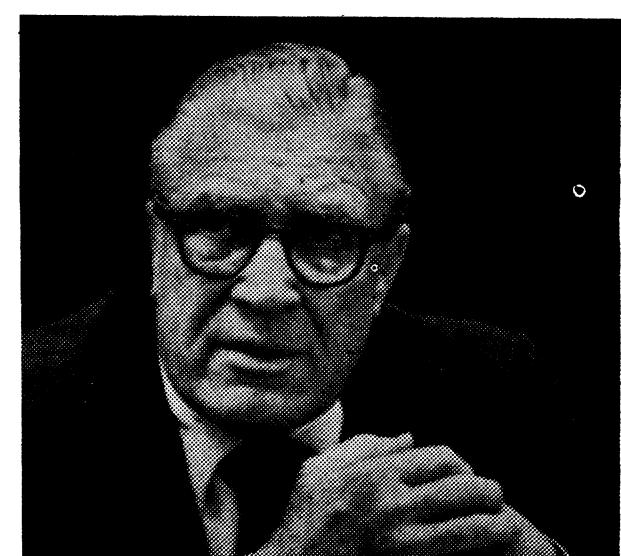
In a related development, the FBI has announced plans to step up its spying on radicals. In a Sept. 21 interview, FBI chief Clarence Kelley said he would seek broader wiretapping powers from Congress in order to stop "political style bombings" by left groups.

According to *Associated Press*, Kelley conceded that increased wiretapping "could be considered by some as a threat to civil liberties. But he contended that the more serious threat to society by bombers warranted the new legislation."

The specter of "terrorists with bombs" is the same justification used by L. Patrick Gray and J. Edgar Hoover before him for the FBI's attacks on democratic rights. Kelley is not really concerned with "bombers"—several of whom have been exposed as FBI agents provocateurs—but with drumming up support for continued surveillance against political dissenters in the face of growing opposition to such secret-police tactics.

Kelley tried to convince reporters that "law enforcement has grown up."

"We can act with discrimination," he claimed. "We are responsible people and are not going to cause people to needlessly lose their rights."



KELLEY: 'Law enforcement has grown up.'

In Our Opinion

Ford's dangerous stand on Mideast oil

White House officials made it unmistakably clear this week that a highly dangerous turn has been agreed upon in U.S. policy toward Middle East oil.

Addressing a Detroit world energy conference Sept. 23, President Ford declared: "Sovereign nations cannot allow their policies to be dictated, or their fate decided, by artificial rigging and distortion of world commodity markets. . . .

"Exorbitant [oil] prices can only distort the world economy, run the risk of worldwide depression and threaten the breakdown of world order and safety."

These words are a declaration of intent of economic, political, and ultimately, military warfare against the Middle East oil regimes if they do not bend to U.S. pressure for lower prices at the wellhead.

They are also shot through with hypocrisy.

President Ford neglects to mention that when the initial oil price rises were announced a year ago Washington supported them. In fact, there are plenty of good reasons to believe that the drive for higher oil prices began on this side of the Atlantic, not in the Middle East.

Higher world prices of oil brought the highest profits on record to the U.S. oil trusts.

They permitted the ruling class to initiate a drive against the ecology movement, paving the way for the Alaska oil pipeline, the greater use of coal as a source of energy, and the development of oil shale at exorbitant costs to taxpayers, not to mention the environment.

And higher world oil prices sent into disarray U.S. imperialism's major foreign rivals in Europe and Japan. They bolstered the dollar in world trade and finance.

But this is also a time of profound crisis for the world capitalist system.

Inflation of historic proportions is engulfing the major capitalist nations.

Recession is underway in the United States; it is expected soon in Britain and Japan; there is the threat of these recessions deepening into world depression.

Bank failures are appearing with increasing regularity. These are not primarily caused by the flows of Arab oil money but by the uneven rates of inflation between capitalist countries. "Hot money" from all sources, not least of all from U.S. multinational corporations, flows in massive sums from one nation to the next in a scramble for the highest immediate profits. A sudden exit of funds from a weaker bank leaves it in a shambles.

That U.S. imperialism should now lash out against the Arab oil countries testifies more than anything else to the deep irrationality of the world capitalist system.

There is a solution to higher world oil prices that would be rapid, practicable, and beneficial to the working masses everywhere. This solution has not even been hinted at by a single spokesman for U.S. capitalism in the series of pre-summit conferences that has filled the news for the past two weeks:

Nationalize the oil industry; eliminate the profits of the oil trusts; run oil companies for the benefit of the people rather than for the profits of the ruling class!

The basic argument of the oil-producing, and other raw-materials-producing nations in the economically underdeveloped world is correct. Throughout the epoch of imperialism prices of raw materials have been suppressed while the prices of the basic commodities that these countries must buy from the advanced capitalist countries have been rising.

The prices of vitally needed food, fertilizer, machinery for technological advance, which the underdeveloped countries must import from abroad, are sweeping upwards in the inflationary spiral.

The only way out of this stranglehold on countries where millions of people are starving is to break the stranglehold of imperialism.

There is an exact parallel between the policies Ford proclaims toward the oil-producing nations and the policies he is enacting against American workers. In both cases capitalism tries to find room for maneuver by taking it out of the hides of the oppressed masses.

The answer in both cases is the same.

End the rule of the profit-gouging few over the working billions!

Run industry for the benefit of the people in a democratically planned fashion!

These steps could prevent the capitalist system from hurtling toward another economic catastrophe on the scale of the 1930s.

Letters

Growing criticism

Criticism is growing within the Chicano movement against the reactionary attacks on undocumented Mexican workers by César Chávez and other officials of the United Farm Workers.

One reflection of this is seen in the Aug. 18 issue of *El Sol de Texas*, a Spanish-language weekly published in Dallas and widely read in many parts of Texas.

The paper, which has supported the United Farm Workers' struggles, carries in translation two articles from the Aug. 2 issue of *The Militant*. One was the lengthy analysis by Miguel Pendás and Harry Ring of Chávez's attacks on the undocumented workers. The other reported on the plans for the Aug. 31 Los Angeles antideportation demonstration.

Nelson Blackstock
Houston, Tex.

successfully, the organizers should have reached out to all teachers involved, provided adequate legal and financial insurance against job and pay loss, and assured substitute teachers that no action would be taken against them for support of the strike. It is neither fair nor correct to slap the hands of the substitute and probationary teachers in this manner. Failure of the strike to materialize was lack of proper organization, pure and simple.

C.J.C.
San Diego, Calif.

Humanitarian sensitivity

It has been our good fortune and to the betterment of our socio-political and economic education that we have acquired access to a few copies of *The Militant*.

We must sincerely admit that we have never before read a weekly publication so thoroughly designed to inform and educate the proletarian and subproletarian people, and bring the injustices and inhumanities of the bourgeoisie to the surface for all to plainly see. Please know that you and your work are appreciated by us and by all who possess humanitarian sensitivity.

Two prisoners
Maryland

Renewal

Without my socialist newspaper I feel like I don't really know what's going on. I'd like to renew my subscription.

S.M.
Monterey, Calif.

James P. Cannon

The death of James P. Cannon leaves me with grief, but also with a thankful feeling that he lived his whole life for the socialist future. In all the times of hardship and isolation he never fell to the twin evils of discouragement and sectarianism. Because of that the Socialist Workers Party still exists as a lively and growing force within our society. Future victories will all be built on his perseverance as a leader of the movement.

Reverend James Bradshaw
Ranier, Ore.

German student

I am a student from West Germany who has just arrived in the United States. A member of the Young Socialist Alliance introduced me to the American supporters of the Fourth International and also to *The Militant*. I am going to subscribe to have weekly information of what is really going on.

K.H.
Cleveland, Ohio

Proletarian unification

I wanted to write and thank *The Militant* staff for the great job it does. You can always count on *The Militant* to report the news as it really is.

How disheartening it is to see the masses of people quibbling over religious differences, skin-color variances, and political biases (Democrat vs. Republican), while big business and capitalism eat away at our very existence.

As the bourgeoisie decreases in size and the proletariat increases in size and diversity, the common fate and struggle of the entire proletariat will provide the impetus for unification of us all.

Peggy Rabun
Jacksonville, Fla.

Debs & The Nation

[A copy of the following letter was submitted to *The Militant*. We publish it in the interest of historical accuracy. Jean Y. Tussey edited *Eugene V. Debs Speaks*, published by Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. New York, 1972. 320 pp. Paper, \$3.95.]

If the imaginary conversation between Samuel Gompers and Eugene V. Debs in *The Nation* of Sept. 7 was meant to put the discussion of



"Labor in '74" in some kind of historical perspective—a useful and worthwhile objective—the article was a total failure.

Debs's views and approach to the problems of the labor movement at the beginning of the century are relevant today, and there is nothing wrong with using the literary device in the article as long as we don't put words in his mouth that are totally inconsistent with his philosophy and his actions.

For the largest part of his long and active life, Debs was the greatest organizer, agitator and educator for industrial and social democracy in this country. He was a prolific speaker and writer. His central theme was that we live in a class-divided society and that only when labor unites economically, in industrial unions, and politically, in its own working-class party independent of the Democrats and Republicans, will we be able to move forward to reconstruct our sick society on a rational basis.

To conclude, as Albert Fried's article does, that the lesson of Debs's life for labor today is the need for a "new radical coalition" in which labor is a mere partner, or collaborator, is a gross distortion and misrepresentation of everything he stood for. It whitewashes the class-collaborationist policies of labor leaders like Gompers, which he would condemn today as roundly as he did in his lifetime.

But your readers don't have to take my word or Fried's for how Debs evaluated the labor movement and what he proposed to strengthen it; they can read it for themselves, in his own words, in *Eugene V. Debs Speaks*, now available in a second printing from Pathfinder Press, New York.

Jean Y. Tussey
Cleveland, Ohio

Truth

I've enjoyed reading your paper. It certainly tells the truth about capitalism and the class struggle. We shouldn't take for granted the rights we have today because many people have died for the benefits we enjoy.

D.E.
Champaign, Ill.

Needs The Militant

The *Militant* over the last few months has not only provided us with reading material, but also has provided us with mind-opening news and views.

Besides opening up minds, *The Militant* also tears down walls, not only the walls of prisons, but also the invisible walls of the capitalist system.

The only thing left to say is we need *The Militant* and the world needs *The Militant*!

A prisoner
Iowa

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if your name may be used or if you prefer that your initials be used instead.

'A situation created by nature'?

Feminists have long objected to sexist advertising.

Complaints have been registered against demeaning television commercials where women appear so helpless that they can't even clean a kitchen sink without Mr. Clean swooping in the window to give them a hand. Lawsuits have been filed against the degrading use of women to promote everything from airlines to Geritol. Protests have been held against beauty contests for "Miss U. S. Harvester," or "Queen of Corn Flakes," or whatever.

The fight has now reached into some of the supposedly more "sophisticated" trade journals. *Electronic Design* magazine, *InfoSystems*, and *Digital Design* are all under the gun for allowing offensive advertisements to appear in their pages.

These journals are geared toward the predominantly male engineering world. They are noted for advertising electronic equipment decorated with near-naked women and suggestive headlines.

For more than a year a controversy has raged in the pages of *Electronic Design* about these advertisements. When the first reader wrote to the editors to complain, they didn't take it very seriously. They ran an answer from the advertising agency that said, "Artists, sculptors, illustrators throughout the ages have admired the female form. Who are you and I to change all that?"

Enough letters followed that the editor-in-chief of the magazine felt compelled to try to justify their advertising policy. "It's certainly true," he wrote in an editorial, "that in a magazine with a predominantly male audience, a pretty girl has some attention-getting qualities. But this is a situation created by nature—not by advertisers. If we are to reject the use of women in advertising because they appeal to men, aren't we declaring that nature has been naughty or careless?"

Truly an amazing argument to be presented to part

of the scientific community—but it didn't go over. Many readers protested, some even canceled their subscriptions. The reaction was strong enough that the editor-in-chief felt another editorial was necessary the next month.

This time he used the "Who knows?" approach. He argued that because there were a variety of opinions about his editorial and the advertisements, the topic was just too complicated to figure out. After all, "The message" is often in the mind of the beholder."

The minds of the beholders are not so wishy-washy. Here are some samples of the letters-to-the-editors of *Electronic Design* and *Digital Design*.

● "I found the advertisement totally objectionable. . . . In these difficult social times, there is no excuse for such flagrant disrespect for the rights of women."

● "I am not generally a proponent of women's lib, but when I saw . . . your printed circuit board ad . . . my female temper was aroused."

● "If your allowance of the Stanford Applied Engineering advertising was not offensive to all your readers, you can rest assured, it was to a number of us. . . .

"Please be assured that your list of advertisers . . . will hear from at least one PhD design engineer who is insulted."

● "I have done a research project on 'Treatment of Women in Technical Advertising'. . . . My audience was both amazed and disgusted at the means to which the advertisers had gone to attract attention. . . .

"Why are women pictured only as models and secretaries in the ads? This only serves to label women in servile roles, to which I object. . . .

"As a future woman engineer, I suggest that both the advertisers and the editors consider carefully what they choose to represent them."

iLa Raza en Acción!

Miguel Pendás



Teamster tops just want dues

Teamster officials have tried to justify their raids on the United Farm Workers union by claiming that Teamster contracts have more benefits. They also claim that the Teamsters union, being a powerful and "experienced" organization, is better able to enforce the contracts.

The experiences of two farm workers in the Salinas area in Northern California, as told in the Sept. 5 UFW newspaper, *El Malcriado*, indicates such claims should be taken with a large dose of salt.

Santos Diaz, a tractor driver at the Western Ranch Company in Castroville, was cheated out of nearly \$800 in wages by the company. It refused to pay the higher wages and vacation pay called for in the new Teamster contract.

When Diaz went to the Teamster office for help, *El Malcriado* reports, he was given the cold shoulder. Not only that, says Diaz, but the Teamster labor fakers told the *patron* to fire him because he was a troublemaker.

Diaz finally turned to the UFW. It was through the union that he saw a copy of the Teamster contract for the first time. Based on the terms of the contract, the Farm Workers appealed through the Salinas Labor Commission and eventually Diaz got back wages totaling \$758.40.

The case of Luis Hernández is equally revealing. "When 25-year-old lettuce worker Luis Hernández died of a heart attack on Aug. 9," writes *El Malcriado*, "his body lay in a morgue for four days awaiting burial because the Teamsters union he belonged to refused to pay death benefits to his widow."

Hernández had a weak heart but had to work to live. His job was one of the most demanding and injurious that farm workers face. He was a *lechugero*—a lettuce cutter, working stooped over in the sun long hours every day.

He gave his life working for the company, but the *patrones* were too stingy to pay for his burial. The Teamsters wouldn't help. It fell to individual

farm workers and the UFW to take up a collection among hundreds of *campesinos* to pay funeral and burial expenses.

These are only two among many incidents, the UFW reports, that show the cynical indifference of the Teamster bureaucrats to farm workers.

The same issue of *El Malcriado* examines a recently signed sweetheart contract between the Teamsters and the Associated Farmers of California, which represents a number of apple growers.

The apple contract is full of worms. Most of its highly touted special benefits apply only to the relatively small number of permanent workers, mostly Anglos. It contains an increase in hourly wages, but the mass of workers in this industry are paid by piece rate, which stays the same.

There is no protection against job loss through mechanization.

The Teamster contracts do not include the union-controlled hiring halls established under the UFW. Without a hiring hall the labor contractors, who do the hiring, are free to discriminate against older and women workers.

On paper, many UFW and Teamster contracts look similar, although there are some important benefits missing in the Teamster deals.

Another big difference is that the Teamster bureaucrats are not interested in the workers' problems. They identify more with the growers than with Chicano *campesinos*. The contracts are signed behind the workers' backs, and they are not familiar with the terms.

By contrast, workers under UFW contract are familiarized with the terms of their contracts. More important, they are involved in enforcing the contracts. Election of ranch committees to process grievances and enforce the contract are an important aspect of UFW organizing.

But as far as the Teamster bureaucrats are concerned, the only function of the *campesinos* is to pay their \$8 monthly union dues.

The Great Society

Harry Ring



Fresh insight—A recent Los Angeles Times headline advised: "Presidency of Hoover Gains New Status."

Safe as the food you buy—Soil and vegetation within a five-square-mile area of the Savannah River in South Carolina is polluted by radioactivity. It's the result of waste discharged into the river by the Atomic Energy Commission's nuclear reactor plant there. A spokesperson conceded the level of radioactivity was on the high side, but assured that there was no danger to the public.

Must be outside agitators—Oil experts have been surprised to learn that high

prices have cut into the sale of gasoline, reports the *Wall Street Journal*. "Who would have believed that 55-cent gasoline would deter anybody from driving," asked one puzzled oil executive.

Executive bouncers—Some 200 major corporations are using the services of "outplacement consultants," specialists who advise and assist in the firing of surplus executives. One such outfit sagely advises against unduly generous severance arrangements. It's not only expensive but it "takes away the man's urgency to find another job."

Operation Overspill—We recently reported that Los Angeles area dairy interests dumped 38,000 gallons of "surplus" milk down the sewer. Actually it was 420,000 gallons. This was disclosed the same day the dairymen applied for a new price hike. Meanwhile, in neighboring Rosemead, school children are now paying a dime for an eight-cent half pint of milk. Officials explain they can't get pennies to make change.

Keeps the bugs out of your lungs—Cigarette smoke may be a major source of exposure to pesticides, according to a University of Kentucky scientist. A wide variety of pesticides

are used in the production of tobacco, he said, and a substantial amount survives the burning process and is ingested with the smoke.

We suspected as much—After studying 5,000 young adults, a University of California drug abuse expert reported that a wholesome upbringing, including such things as school sports, scouting, and hobbies, has no apparent effect on preventing subsequent drinking problems.

Thought for the week—"When a man tells you he got rich through hard work, ask him: 'Whose?'"—Don Marquis.

By Any Means Necessary

Black strikes in South Africa

Labor rumblings and a Black strike wave made the past few months a hot winter in South Africa.

The last major strike wave there was in early 1973. Some wages were raised.

So what was all the fuss about this time?

Ask the women employees at Regent Neckwear Manufacturing in East London. They could tell you. They get paid five rands a week—about \$7.50. (One rand equals about \$1.50.)

So strikes broke out in East London and Durban. And they struck sensitive chords within South Africa's ruling quarters on Black labor relations and Black wages.

Harry Oppenheimer is one of South Africa's rulers who was doing a lot of the singing. Oppenheimer, whose name is associated with gold and diamond wealth, is a liberal—by South African standards. In reaction to Black protest, he'll usually speak out about some of the most oppressive conditions of apartheid.

Confronted with the strikes, he spoke at a high-level meeting of South African capitalists and corporations managers to explain the need for a new look at Black labor relations.

Oppenheimer, according to the Johannesburg

Star, said the wave of strikes was "well organised and disciplined and highly successful." He added that the "consciousness among Black workers of their potential strength is building up by the day."

He concluded that "wage rates and conditions of employment must be determined not by unilateral decisions of the employers, however enlightened, but by a process of negotiation and bargaining between management and representatives of the workers."

He called for grooming "Black labour leaders capable of inspiring confidence among workers and management." (That's capitalist lingo for grooming union bureaucrats capable of controlling workers' militancy.)

Then in late August, he announced that his Anglo American Corporation would recognize and negotiate with Black unions.

Commenting on this, the *Star* noted: "Where this corporation leads, others tend to follow." But it reminded: "Anglo, in most of its enterprises, does not yet have any Black unions to deal with."

By and large, Black unions in South Africa are not recognized by employers, and the right of Blacks to strike is so limited as to be virtually denied.

Following the wage hikes that were won after the 1973 strike wave, the government boasted to the world that apartheid wasn't as rigid as many people thought, and that if business made the effort, and the Africans were patient, Africans could make more money and begin to catch up with whites in wages.

A recent national report by a South African research firm, however, sent a torpedo through that boast.

The report, compiled by Market Research Africa, shows that about 90 percent of workers in agriculture, forestry, fishing, and mining are Africans. Africans are 70 percent of the population, but the report found they make up 85 percent of the unemployment rolls.

The monthly family income for whites in South Africa in 1962, the report says, was 258 rands. For Africans it was 25 rands. But—hold your breath—Africans had made a 120 percent leap in wages by 1973, to 55 rands a month! And whites? Simply up to 519 rands per month.

Thus Africans still make only about one-tenth that of what whites make, on the average.

That's what all the fuss was about.

National Picket Line

The working-class alternative in '74

The labor party idea is gaining support.

When the thirty-ninth international convention of the 165,000-member United Electrical Workers (UE) convened in New York on Sept. 9, the president, Albert Fitzgerald, called for the formation of a labor party.

Many union officials will say privately that a labor party is badly needed, but few have mustered the courage to speak out publicly for it.

Many working men and women are sympathetic to the idea of a labor party and would like to vote for a labor candidate with the prospect of electing one of their own this fall.

It is to the credit of Albert Fitzgerald that he is the first president of an international union in recent years to identify himself with this general sentiment.

The officers' report at the UE convention noted that the Nixon administration led the attack against the working class, "on the peoples' standards and needs." But it added that "the Congress—Democrats and Republicans alike—has done precious little to oppose the plan or champion measures to meet the peoples' needs."

Watergate has exposed the corrupt character of both old parties. The poor turnout everywhere in

the primary elections this year showed that many voters are disillusioned, little interested in the choices offered by the parties of big business.

Those who went to the polls did so to register their opposition to machine politics. They crossed out some old faces. But the new faces will sing the same old free-enterprise tune with maybe a few new lyrics.

Millions of workers and poor people, joined by sections of the middle class that are being crushed by inflation, look for a genuine political change. They want to put candidates in office who will represent them against the bankers, the big monopolies, and the repressive government.

The trouble is that the union movement, which provides some defense against intolerable conditions in the workplace and usually tries to maintain a living wage scale for its own members, has not yet sponsored a labor party to fight against the deteriorating conditions of life for the vast majority in this society.

As yet there are no worker candidates on the ballot even at the district level, with the endorsement of their local unions, to challenge the antilabor Democrats and Republicans.

Union officials who think they are able to rep-

resent their union in public office try to win primary elections in the Democratic Party. They lose because the Democratic Party does not welcome union candidates. It is run by trusted representatives of the employing class who are committed to the proposition that workers need representatives in government, but should never seek to represent themselves.

This myth that workers are not able to represent their own interests in government, or that the basic needs of workers, who are the majority, are somehow opposed to the interests of "all the people," could be quickly dispelled by the election of a few union men and women on local labor party tickets. It may be that this is the way a national labor party structure will begin to take shape.

The endorsement of the labor party idea by top union officials can help spur the movement at all levels. It would also help if union officials stopped pouring millions of dollars into the coffers of the Democratic and Republican parties, and used that money to finance the campaigns of working-class candidates on the Socialist Workers Party ticket, who are promoting the idea of a labor party.



Frank Lovell

Teachers defeat injunctions in Detroit & Wash.

By MIKE KELLY

DETROIT—Three weeks into the school year, locals of the National Education Association (NEA) remain on strike in seven Michigan school districts.

Several face court antistrike injunctions similar to that slapped on the East Detroit Federation of Teachers earlier. In the Crestwood district, school officials announced plans to fire 204 striking teachers.

Meanwhile, 522 members of the East Detroit Federation of Teachers, American Federation of Teachers (AFT) Local 698, went back to work with a new contract.

The strikers had defied an injunction levied by Macomb County Judge Hunter Stair. Stair had jailed six strikers and threatened to arrest the entire union if they were not back to work by Sept. 23.

In response to this strikebreaking attack, teachers from 15 locals of the Michigan Education Association (MEA) and the Michigan Federation of Teachers (MFT) marched in a spirited picket line Sept. 18 in support of the East Detroit teachers.

The picket line was endorsed by both the MFT and the Metropolitan Detroit Council of the AFL-CIO. Both also endorsed and agreed to build a mass labor support rally if Stair carried through his threat.

The support the local received proved sufficient to force the school board to agree to a "fact-finder's" proposal to settle the strike. Up until then the board had refused to even make an offer.

The agreement includes a 7 percent wage increase, insurance and other benefits not previously included in their contract, a reduction in class size from 32 to 29 in the lower grades, and elementary "prep" time. This means that elementary teachers, overwhelmingly women, now have a period without a class to prepare their work. This has become a standard part of contracts for many high school teachers, where men make up a greater part of the work force.



Judge threatened to jail all striking teachers in East Detroit.

The teachers are proud of their strike and see it as a renewed link with a more militant heritage. In 1947 they were the first teachers union to strike in the post-World War II strike wave.

As of last week East Detroit was the only AFT local on strike anywhere in the country. Nevertheless, AFT President Albert Shanker, in town for a meeting with the MFT, declined to walk the picket line with the teachers.

SEATTLE—Two teachers' strikes in Washington ended in mid-September with victories for the teachers.

In Tacoma, the second-largest school system in the state, teachers won a 9.5 percent wage increase.

In Federal Way, located about 20 miles south of Seattle, gains included an 8.5 percent pay boost and a decrease in class size over the next two years. Lasting 20 days, the strike was the longest school strike in Washington history.

Teachers in both districts are represented by affiliates of the Washington Education Association.

Both school boards tried to break the strikes with court injunctions and by bribing substitute teachers to scab. Substitutes were paid \$42 a day, almost 50 percent more than the usual rate. In Tacoma a judge also levied a \$10 per teacher per day fine on the teachers association.

The teachers responded with large picket lines. The Tacoma schools were closed down after three days of attempted openings during which few students attended. The injunction was withdrawn and the school board was forced to negotiate.

The Federal Way school board was a little more stubborn, escorting substitutes in on buses and attempting to limit teacher pickets. But when school bus drivers refused to cross picket lines, and almost half of the district's students stayed home, the school board was finally forced to bargain with the teachers.

A condition of both contracts was amnesty for the striking teachers.

DC retail clerks forced back to work

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Members of striking Retail Clerks International Association (RCIA) Local 400 voted to return to work here Sept. 13, ending an eight-day walkout against six local food chains.

The clerks accepted the same contract that 80 percent of them had rejected at a meeting Sept. 5. At that time, the strike vote was carried overwhelmingly against the advice of the union leadership, who urged acceptance of the contract.

The contract grants a 15 percent wage increase the first year and 4 percent in each of the two succeeding years.

The main reason the contract was initially rejected was the clerks' insistence on a one-year contract as protection against inflation.

The supermarket chains had negotiated the same three-year contract with the Amalgamated Meatcutters in Washington and Baltimore and with



Militant/Eric Simpson
Teamsters and meatcutters crossed retail clerks' picket lines.

the Retail Clerks in Baltimore.

According to Harry Carter, assistant director of the RCIA, the officials of the four unions made an agreement with the food chains "to recommend the package to the membership and we did."

When the members of Local 400 rejected the contract that their leaders had agreed to, the Meatcutters officials refused to allow their members to honor the picket lines. If Local 400 had won its demands, the officials of the Meatcutters feared their members would demand renegotiation of their own contract.

The Teamsters union officials also helped break the strike by ordering their members to cross picket lines and supply the stores.

The food chains launched a propaganda attack on the retail clerks with full-page ads in the daily press. These ads charged that the clerks had broken their agreement with the other unions and were making inflationary demands.

These price-gouging profiteers demagogically accused the retail clerks of imposing a hardship on ghetto residents by shutting down the stores.

The food chains began recruiting students as scabs and gradually reopened their stores throughout the city.

The main weakness of the strike, however, was the refusal of the Local 400 officials to carry out a militant and aggressive policy. Despite the shutdown of hundreds of stores over the weekend, the union mobilized a scant 15 pickets at stores that were open. The union officials failed to counter the propaganda campaign of the store owners.

In the Sept. 13 meeting called to revoke on the contract, Richard Lewis, an international vice-president of the RCIA, told the strikers to accept the three-year contract.

"You had better tighten your belt and get ready for a 10- to 12-week strike," he warned. And if the clerks continued the strike, he said, they might be forced back to work "with less than you've got now."

Faced with this refusal of their leaders to lead, and with scabbing by their sister unions, the retail clerks saw little alternative to accepting the contract.

Striking teachers fired in Cleveland

By NANCY BROWN

CLEVELAND—Judge Daniel Corrigan ordered the firing of 300 teachers and assistants Sept. 18 as their strike against the Cuyahoga County Board of Mental Retardation entered its second week.

The county's schools for trainable mentally retarded children have been closed since Sept. 10, when the Association of Cuyahoga County Teachers of the Trainable Retarded (ACCTTR) went on strike.

Demands include a 9 percent pay increase, medical benefits, and better equipment for the classrooms and the 3,000 students. The teachers' starting pay is now \$7,500—\$800 below what is paid to starting teachers in the public school system.

Judge Corrigan had ordered the teachers back to work Sept. 12 on the basis of Ohio's Ferguson Act, which prohibits public employee strikes. In ordering all the teachers fired, Corrigan also instructed the board to hire all new teachers and assistants. The board has announced that all the schools will be open by Nov. 1 with scab teachers.

Striking teachers interviewed by *The Militant* were indignant at the board's refusal to take their demands seriously. "There are a whole lot of things wrong with the way the schools are run," said one striker, "but the major aspect of our strike is the wage increase, medical benefits, and better equipment. On \$7,500 we can't even feed our families."

Another teacher pointed out the lack of equipment. "Last fall we all voted for Issue 10 [a county tax that was supposed to provide up to \$7-million for the Board of Mental Retardation each year]. What did we or the kids see of that? Almost nothing. We need more assistants, more physical therapists, and more psychologists."

"There's at least \$700,000 unaccounted for," the teacher said. "We're talking about launching an investigation. The other money went for more administrators and new offices."

"They were supposed to use \$300,000 for hot-lunch programs for all 11 schools," the teacher continued. "So far most of the schools don't have programs. I teach my students how to cook—so we feed 90 students and teachers every week. But the board won't allocate the money for a sink in my classroom. I've been washing the dishes in a slop sink with the mops for over 10 months."

The strike has the support of some of the parents, but has not been able to win the backing of the Cleveland Federation of Labor (CFL). The president of the CFL is Frank Valenta, who also sits on the Board of Mental Retardation. Strikers have extended their picket lines from the schools to Valenta's home, demanding that he and the CFL give support and help win the strike.

The teachers are continuing to hold meetings and picket lines. All 300 teachers and assistants in the program are out, and as one striker said, "We're planning to stay out, to fight this injunction until we get our wages increased and get some of that money for equipment."

With the help of parents, strikers have set up alternative schools for the students in two locations.

Socialists answer Ford 'summit'

'...entire system functions to ...'

Continued from page 1

were some unavoidable natural disaster, like a hurricane or an earthquake. But it's not. It is based on the actions of human beings—producing, buying, selling. But in the capitalist system the consequences of these actions seem to be beyond human control.

The speakers here have tried to *hide* what is happening. You talk about inflation as a problem facing "the nation" to hide the fact that "the nation" is divided into classes, and one class is profiting from the misery of others. The buying power of the average worker's paycheck has been slashed, but corporate profits are at an all-time high.

You put the blame for inflation on the Arab oil-producing countries to hide the fact that U.S. oil companies control the world marketing of oil and are reaping the highest profits ever recorded. Now Ford and Kissinger have virtually threatened action against the Arab countries if oil prices don't come down. President Ford, I say if you're so worried about oil prices, *nationalize the oil monopoly and eliminate its profits*.

Greed and waste

You have the gall to say the problem is the "high expectations" of workers. You claim we have been eating too much meat, using too much energy, living too well.

There is a group of people in society that is greedy, wasteful, and hogging more than their share of the nation's wealth—but it's not the workers.

At the "presummit" meeting in Detroit a few days ago, someone figured out that the combined salaries of the 41 executives in the room amounted to \$50,000 a day. These are the people who are telling us to tighten our belts.

The same people who complain about "lazy bums on welfare" want the



Faced with economic crisis, millionaire bankers and executives at Ford summit respond . . .

government to give Pan American airlines a \$10-million-a-month handout. Just like the people who yelled loudest about "crime in the streets" turned out to be the biggest crooks of all.

But the real problem isn't just the waste and luxury and hypocrisy of these rich parasites—disgusting though they are. The problem is that *the entire system functions to uphold the profits of the wealthy few above everything else*.

Artificial shortages

Artificial shortages and the constant upward spiraling of prices are built into the capitalist system today. Meat is just one example.

Last year there was a shortage of beef and prices went into orbit. Now there is world *overproduction* of beef. That doesn't mean working-class families have too much meat on the table. No, people are eating less meat, because they can't afford it.

"Overproduction" means the capitalists have more beef than they can sell *at a profit*, and they see a danger of the price falling. So beef is withheld from the market to keep the price up, and Congress rushes through a \$2-billion bill to subsidize livestock producers. They say if prices were allowed to fall, the capitalists wouldn't have the profit incentive to produce beef. Then there would be another shortage and prices would skyrocket even higher.

The supposed free market where prices are determined by supply and demand doesn't exist any more. With the monopolies controlling most industry, prices go up but they don't come down.

Right now the demand for cars has fallen, and sales are way down, but the auto companies just raised the price of a new car more than \$400. They plan to profit by selling fewer cars at *higher* prices.

run it a lot better than it is run today.

Under socialism, all the economic decisions that are anarchic, unplanned, and dictated by private profit today, would be made democratically by the workers: what to produce, where to invest, what to build. You can be sure that if people were hungry somewhere in the world, food would be sent there—and not depending on whether they could pay the going price. By providing an abundance of the world's goods for *all*, socialism will open the way to the greatest expansion of human freedom in history.

Attacks on workers

All the plans of this conference go in just the opposite direction. Let's look at the major proposals being put forward for the "fight against inflation."

First, higher unemployment. You have admitted there is no hope of controlling inflation in the immediate future. Your only promise is that if production is cut back enough so that six or seven or eight million people are thrown out of work, maybe inflation will slow down in a couple of years.

Mass unemployment—this incredible waste of human capabilities, condemning vast sections of the population to a life of degradation and poverty—is capitalism's only answer to inflation. So with the approval of Democrats and Republicans alike, the government will continue its recessionary policies to slow down the economy and force massive layoffs.

The objection of many of you to "tight money" only means you're afraid to slow it down *too much*—and with good reason. The results could include a wave of business failures and even a world depression. To actually stop inflation would require another depression. So what is really in store is the worst of both worlds: more inflation and more unemployment.

Second, cuts in government spending. For years the capitalist propaganda mills have spread the lie that workers' wage increases cause inflation, and you still sometimes try to maintain that pretense. But now, to win public support for cutting the budget, it is admitted that the real reason for inflation has been the huge deficits in the federal budget. Since 1965 the government has spent \$102.9 billion more than it has taken in.

This vast inflationary increase in government spending went to pay for the Vietnam war and the Pentagon's

SWP leaders tour country

Between now and the November elections the four cochairpersons of the Socialist Workers 1974 National Campaign Committee will conduct speaking tours across the country.

Speaking on "Nixon's gone, problems remain—Why 'the system' won't work," they will urge support to the more than 125 candidates the SWP has fielded in 15 states and the District of Columbia. The four are:

• Debby Bustin, former national coordinator of the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War

in Vietnam, included on Nixon's "enemies list."

• Peter Camejo, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from Massachusetts in 1970, debated his Democratic opponent Edward Kennedy four times.

• Maceo Dixon, longtime activist in the Black liberation movement, leader of protests against police brutality in Detroit in 1973.

• Linda Jenness, SWP candidate for president in 1972.

For more information contact Socialist Workers 1974 National Campaign Committee, P.O. Box 482, New York, N.Y. 10011.



Linda Jenness



Peter Camejo

Destructive system

No one else who has spoken at this conference has been able to explain the reason for the economic crisis, but we socialists can. We say the fundamental problem is that this entire capitalist system is bankrupt, outmoded, decaying, destructive, and is dragging the world to ruin with it.

It is not only a question of the economy. We live under the constant danger of nuclear holocaust, as the arms race continues and wars break out in one "hot spot" after another. Meanwhile, unchecked pollution threatens to make the world uninhabitable, because there's no profit in pollution control.

The only answer to the crisis is the complete transformation of society—the creation of a socialist world in which production will be carried out for human need, not private profit. We are not interested in patching up capitalism. A system that allows starvation in the midst of plenty, that forces people to go without jobs when there is useful work to be done, is worthless and should be scrapped. Humanity must abolish capitalism before capitalism destroys humanity.

In a socialist society, the basic means of production would be owned by the entire society. I'm not talking about people's individual belongings, such as cars, homes, or even small businesses and farms. I mean the big banks, industries, railroads, and the giant farms.

Working people already produce all the wealth of this country—we could

uphold profits of wealthy few'

worldwide military machine. But the cuts will be in the pitiful amounts spent for human needs—welfare, Social Security, schools, child-care centers, medical research, veterans' benefits, mass transportation.

More pollution

Third, an all-out attack on pollution control and plant-safety regulations. The industrialists are going hog-wild over this. E. Mandell de Windt, chairman of the Eaton Corporation, says the government must "suspend legal regulations of Federal environmental and safety programs that impede industrial capacity." The chairman of General Motors demands a three-year freeze on pollution and safety regulations. The chairman of Ford says "at least five years." "This is no time for an over zealous attitude" toward pollution and safety standards, declares the head of a big machine tool company.

Why? Because protecting the health and safety of workers is not profitable, and profit is the name of the game.

Fourth, "increasing productivity." This means jacking up profits by getting more production out of fewer workers. It means speed up the assembly lines, work harder and faster, ignore safety precautions.

Fifth, more tax breaks for the rich. While a tax cut for workers is de-



... by telling workers and poor, like these New York welfare recipients, to 'tighten your belts.'

nounced as "inflationary," multi-million-dollar giveaways to big business are politely called "tax incentives to increase investment."

Who sacrifices?

There's been a lot of talk about "equality of sacrifice" in the "fight against inflation." It's a fraud all around. None of these proposals will stop inflation. And the capitalists don't intend to sacrifice one dollar. No, they demand more.

"Profit levels are too low," says the chairman of U.S. Steel. "We're going to have to improve our profit margins tremendously," says the chairman of Union Carbide, threatening more chemical shortages if profits don't rise.

It's the same line the oil companies used during the energy crisis, which they deliberately created to get their prices up. They said, in effect, "If our profits aren't high enough, it won't be worth our while to keep the refineries and factories open."

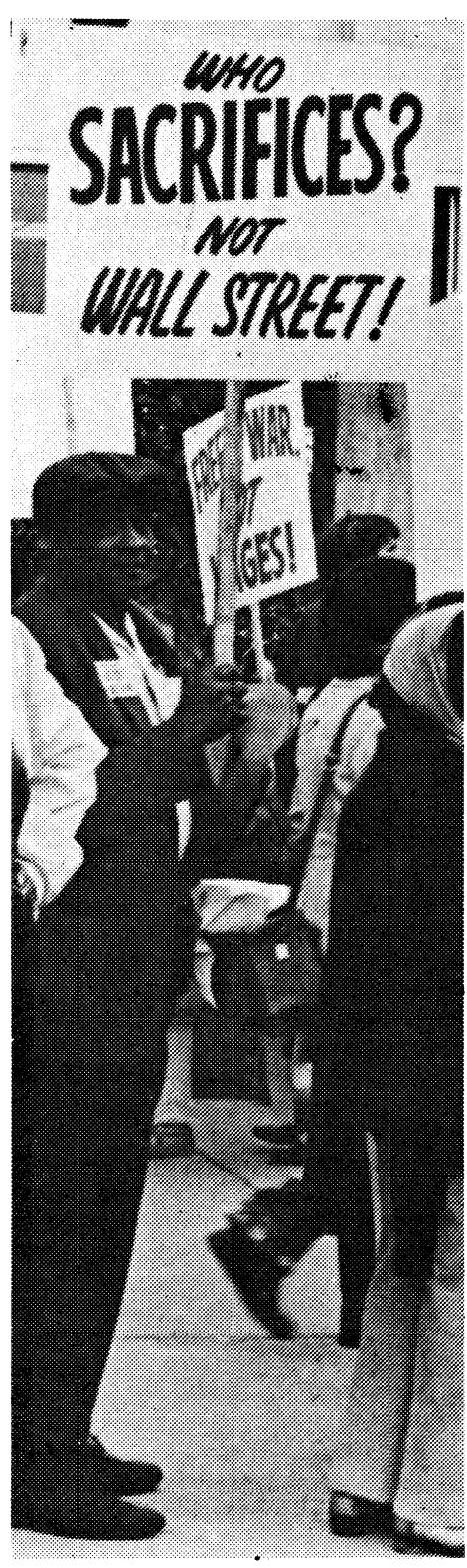
The government says exactly the same thing. In the first six months of this year electric companies have gotten government approval to raise rates by \$1.4-billion. But the other day Treasury Secretary Simon said our electric bills must rise even more sharply, or "the lights will go out."

What is being mapped out is an attack from all sides on the living standards of working people. To keep capitalism alive, you executives, bankers, lawyers, economists, and capitalist politicians are willing to see the majority of the world's population ground down into the dirt. Starting with those least able to defend themselves: old people, the unemployed, unorganized workers, people on welfare.

The Socialist Workers Party says that working people bear no responsibility for the impending crisis and have no reason to sacrifice for it. Any claim that workers and bosses can make a common effort to end inflation is a cover-up for making the workers pay.

There is only one solution for working people, although no one has said a word about it at this conference. That solution is to fight uncompromisingly for our own interests—the interests of the vast majority—through strikes, rallies, protests, mass demonstrations, and other independent political action.

That is the only way to defend our wages, jobs, safety, and environment today against the attacks by the capitalist profiteers. And it is the road to overturning this decaying capitalist system and building a truly humane society.



'Any claim that workers and bosses can fight inflation together is cover-up for making workers pay.'

Dixon: How workers can fight back

By MACEO DIXON

If any Black people had hoped that this big show in Washington was going to solve our problems, they must have been sorely disappointed.

This conference has not only done nothing, it has not even addressed itself to the urgent needs of the people who are suffering the most from the economic crisis.

And it's no wonder why. You don't think our problems are the important ones.

One of the most revealing statements made in any of these meetings was when Alan Greenspan, the new chairman of the president's Council of Economic Advisers, said that if you want to know "percentagewise who was hurt the most in their income, it was Wall Street brokers."

I don't even have to answer that. I'd just like to take Mr. Greenspan down to a welfare center in Bedford-Stuyvesant or an unemployment office in Detroit and let him explain to the brothers and sisters there how tough the Wall Street brokers have it.

You know who Greenspan is? He used to run a big business consulting firm, and he says for 20 years he's been a disciple of Ayn Rand. She's a right-wing philosopher who calls for "rational selfishness" and a return to laissez-faire capitalism. Greenspan says she convinced him that "capitalism is not only efficient and practical but also moral." So that's where he's coming from.

Anyhow, Greenspan gets a measly \$42,500 a year working for Ford. That is six times as much as the average Black family makes. But it's a 90 percent cut in pay from what he was making on Wall Street, so I guess "percentagewise" he is really in bad shape.

There's a saying that figures don't lie, but liars can figure.

The callousness and arrogance of a man like Greenspan are not just his personal traits. They reflect the outlook and interests of the racist capitalist class that runs the government.

Contrary to what Greenspan says, it is working people, especially those who are at the bottom—Blacks, Chicanos, and Puerto Ricans—who are suffering the most.

Along with old people whose Social Security and pensions are being eaten away by inflation; welfare recipients whose benefits are being cut; working women who have no day-care centers for their children; and veterans, especially all the vets who got less-than-honorable discharges because they resisted racism in the army or spoke out against the war.

Inflation is hitting all poor people the hardest because we spend more of our income on food, housing, transportation, and fuel—where prices have gone up the fastest.

Remember Johnson's promises of a "Great Society" and Nixon's plan for "Black capitalism"? They told us that capitalism would gradually eliminate racism and discrimination.

Just the opposite is happening. As the blows of inflation and unemployment rain down on Black people, economic inequality is getting worse, not better. The average Black family last year made only 58 percent of what the average white family made, and the gap is widening.

Did you know that more than one-third of all Black families in this country have a total yearly income of less than \$5,000? When you read about people eating dog food, that is why.

For Black youth, the official unemployment rate is more than 30 percent. That is higher than unemployment ever got nationally, even during the Great Depression.

Cut the budget?

Now a lot of people at this conference are advising the president to slow down the economy and cut the federal budget, supposedly to reduce inflation.

The capitalists begrudge every penny spent for the needs of working people—even though it's our tax money—and they're jumping at the chance to eliminate social welfare programs.

The government has plenty of money, though, to finance wars, like in Vietnam, and CIA subversion of other countries, like in Chile. It has billions for propping up dictatorships all over the world.

Continued on next page

'...mass protests are needed'

Continued from preceding page

We socialists completely reject the notion of "controlling spending" to end inflation. If the budget is to be cut, we say cut out the \$100-billion for the military. Cut out the interest payments to the banks on the national debt. That amounts to \$23-billion this year going straight from our tax payments to line the pockets of millionaires like Rockefeller.

At one "presummit" meeting last week, people protested against the cuts that are being planned. We socialists solidarize with that. We say stop the cutbacks! Spend billions of dollars more on education, more on welfare, more on veterans, more on health, more on Social Security!

Last weekend, leaders of a number of Black organizations, including the Urban League, NAACP, and Operation PUSH, met at a counter-summit and drafted some proposals for dealing with the economic problems of the Black community. The group also included several Black elected officials.

They called for an immediate and massive program of public works to provide at least one million jobs. I wholeheartedly support that call. Such a program would be a double benefit to society. It should provide jobs for all who want to work, and at union wages, not the starvation dole the government proposes. And it should be directed toward what people really need—rebuilding the cities, providing housing, schools, hospitals, and child-care centers, and cleaning up the environment.

Top priority should be given to the Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican communities, with all funds and programs under the control of those communities.

There is an additional way to fight for jobs for all. That is to shorten the workweek, with no reduction in take-home pay, to spread the available work to all who need jobs.

The lack of progress toward real



'A powerful coalition of Blacks, unions, unemployed, women, and veterans could be forged. Demonstration in Chicago last year is example of what can be done.'

social equality shows the need for preferential hiring and promotion of minority workers to begin to make up for long years of discrimination.

Can prices be controlled?

Another idea was raised at the Black economic summit: the demand that the government roll back prices.

All working people, I'm sure, would like to see prices come down. But can we expect the capitalist government to do such a thing? No! Just look at the historical record. Every time the government has imposed controls, saying it would rein in prices, it's only been a cover for keeping wages down.

We just had almost three years of "wage and price controls." Did they hold down prices? No, prices rose faster than ever. The same thing happened during the Korean War and World War II.

The fact is that the capitalist government *can't* and *will not* control prices. Whenever you hear them say they're going to control prices and wages, no matter how fair they promise to be—watch out! They're planning payroll robbery on a billion-dollar scale.

We shouldn't be fooled by the fact that Ford swears up and down he won't impose controls. He swore up and down he wouldn't pardon Nixon without a trial too.

There is *more* government interference to hold down wages on the way. And it's only a small step from dictating wages to starting to outlaw strikes. One of the proposals of business executives at this conference is for a ban on strikes in "vital industries," such as transportation.

We shouldn't give any credence to these schemes, or cooperate in any way with government controls.

Inflation *can't* be stopped under capitalism. The most effective way to fight it is to defend the income of working people from its effects.

All across the country workers have

gone on strike to win big wage increases to catch up with inflation, and cost-of-living clauses to stay caught up.

What we need is a cost-of-living clause in every union contract to raise wages automatically every time prices rise. Cost-of-living adjustments should also apply to Social Security, unemployment, welfare, pensions, veterans' benefits, and all income of working people.

At the counter-summit of Black leaders, some raised the idea of calling demonstrations against unemployment and the cutbacks. Mass actions around these questions would be one of the most effective ways for victims of the government economic assault to fight back. The Socialist Workers Party will work together with any and all groups to build such demonstrations.

A powerful coalition—a great social movement—could be forged of Black organizations, the unemployed, trade unions, women's groups, and veterans.

A year ago in Chicago, Operation PUSH spearheaded such a united action and it drew 8,000 people. That's just one example of what can be done.

No proposals like those I have described, which would begin to protect working people against the economic crisis, will come out of this summit conference. Nor will they be heard from the Democratic and Republican politicians. These politicians all support the capitalist system. And you *can't support the capitalist system today without supporting the attacks against working people.*

That is why the so-called friends of labor in Congress passed the wage-control law in 1970. They passed all the unequal and unfair taxes. They voted all the funds for the Vietnam war, and they refuse to stop military spending today. They're working right along with Ford to cut the budget.

It is self-defeating to strike and protest against the policies of the Democrats and Republicans and then turn around and vote for them. The way for Blacks and the labor movement to carry the struggle forward is to break with these two capitalist parties and launch independent political action.

There is an independent working-class alternative in this fall's elections: the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party.

I know we won't get any votes from the bankers, stockbrokers, capitalist politicians, and union bureaucrats at this economic summit.

But to all the working people who are looking for a way to cast a vote against unemployment, cutbacks, wage controls, the inflationary squeeze, racism, and the rule of the profiteers—I urge you to vote Socialist Workers.

Support grows for N.Y. SWP ballot fight

By JANICE LYNN

NEW YORK—Two challenges have been filed against the nominating petitions of the New York Socialist Workers Party, attempting to throw the socialist candidates off the ballot.

The SWP candidates filed 37,904 signatures for the statewide ticket, headed by Derrick Morrison for governor and Rebecca Finch for U.S. Senate. This is almost double the required 20,000.

On the basis of absurd technicalities, the right-wing National Caucus of Labor Committees (NCLC), also calling itself the U.S. Labor Party, has challenged the statewide SWP slate and the petitions filed for Claire Moriarty, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress from the 20th District.

This challenge is an extension of earlier physical attacks carried out by NCLC against the SWP and other organizations with whom they disagree. NCLC has worked together with the cops in such attacks.

Some of the objections cited by NCLC against the SWP petitions are: "Names, addresses and other pertinent information are abbreviated; Witnesses have not initialed crossouts and makeovers on their petitions; Witnesses have failed to line out and initial blank portions of their petitions."

A drive has been launched to solicit protest telegrams and letters urging dismissal of the NCLC challenge. Among those who have agreed to protest this attempt to exclude the SWP candidates from the ballot are attorneys William Kunstler and Florynce Kennedy; journalists Murray Kempston and Nat Hentoff; Daniel Berrigan; and Edith Tiger, director, National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee.

Also, City Councilman Luis Olmedo; Dr. Paul Siegel, Long Island University; feminist author Myrna Lamb; and Attica defendant Herbert X Blyden.

In addition, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 1930, Library Guild, sent a resolution urging dismissal of the challenge.

Since the launching of this protest campaign it has been learned that additional challenges have been filed against the petitions of the SWP and also against those of the Communist Party, Socialist Labor Party, and the so-called U.S. Labor Party.

The individual filing the challenge, John Garry, is executive chairman of the Democratic Party of Colonie, a suburb of Albany, and former district attorney of Albany County.

The objections are made on the basis of technicalities in the way the nominating petitions were filed and arranged.

SWP candidates Derrick Morrison and Rebecca Finch issued a statement denouncing this action by the Democratic Party officials. "Our supporters spent thousands of hours collecting far more than the required signatures," they said. "We have fully complied with the restrictive New York election laws. Tens of thousands of New York voters have expressed their desire to see us on the ballot."

"This challenge is another example of how the Democratic and Republican

Continued on page 30



GREENSPAN: For \$42,500 a year, he finds capitalism 'not only efficient and practical but also moral.'

Further reading on

The Socialist Alternative

WHAT SOCIALISTS STAND FOR, by Stephanie Coontz. 50 cents.

SOCIALISM AND DEMOCRACY, by Linda Jenness. 25 cents.

SOCIALIST PROGRAM TO FIGHT INFLATION. Published by Socialist Workers 1974 National Campaign Committee. 25 cents.

ISSUES FACING THE LABOR MOVEMENT IN THE 1970s. Edited by Paul Davidson. 60 cents.

SOCIALISM ON TRIAL, by James P. Cannon. A classic explanation of Marxist views on history, capitalism, the class struggle, war, and revolution. 192 pp., paper \$2.25.

AN INTRODUCTION TO MARXIST ECONOMIC THEORY, by Ernest Mandel. A concise explanation of the basic principles of Marxist political economy and their application to contemporary monopoly capitalism. 80 pp., paper \$1.25.

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

U.S. CP backs gangster action

Kremlin bureaucrats break up rebel art show

From Intercontinental Press

It all began when thirteen artists asked city authorities in Moscow for permission to hold an exhibition of paintings on a vacant lot. No objection being raised, the artists, who are not recognized by the official Artists Union because they are against the prescribed doctrine of "socialist realism," went ahead.

The paintings displayed by the twenty-four participating artists represented a variety of schools, including surrealism, abstract expressionism, formalism, and pop art.

No sooner had the exhibition been set up than the censors arrived in the form of a "vigilante squad" armed with appropriate tools of bureaucratic criticism — dump trucks, water-tank trucks used for spraying streets, and two bulldozers.

While uniformed cops looked on impassively, the vehicles were driven around the lot, scattering several hundred spectators and exhibitors, and

destroying many of the paintings.

"The young men who appeared to be organized into teams, ripped up, trampled and threw more than a dozen paintings into a dump truck to be covered with mud and driven away," reported an eyewitness, Christopher Wren of the *New York Times*. "Artists who protested were roughed up and at least five were arrested. An unknown number of angry spectators were taken to a nearby police station."

One of those arrested, Viktor Tupitsin, a mathematician, later reported that while at the police station, he saw some of the "vigilantes" who had broken up the exhibition go into a back room and re-emerge in police uniforms. He said he had also seen a notice on a bulletin board instructing "all the staff to report in civilian clothes" on Sunday morning, the day of the exhibition.

The next day, a municipal court convicted four artists and a photog-

rapher of "petty hooliganism" for resisting the attack on the art show, and imposed fifteen-day prison terms and fines on them.

The destruction of the exhibition received front-page treatment in the Western press, of course. Could there be more convincing evidence of the absence of freedom of expression in the Soviet Union?

Gus Hall, the general secretary of the U.S. Communist party, predictably echoed a line of defense suggested in a Tass news agency dispatch. He claimed to see the "fine hand of the C.I.A." in the affair. (*Daily World*, September 21.)

The "fine hand," naturally, was seen by Hall in the artists showing their paintings and not in the drivers of bulldozers and dump trucks expressing critical reactions. Hall viewed them as "some local Soviet citizens" who "seemingly over-reacted" out of "honest indignation."

The bureaucrats, in suppressing the show, clearly failed to anticipate the genuinely honest indignation it would arouse internationally.

Embarrassed by the publicity, the authorities retreated, while continuing to defend their way of handling artists who want to paint as they please. Ten of the eighteen paintings were returned to their owners through unidentified persons. Those jailed were released after a few days.

At the same time, the Soviet newspapers in their first published account of the incident accused the artists of having staged a "deliberate political provocation."

The authorities also turned down a request from the same group of artists to hold another showing on September 29. They were told they could display their works on Septem-



Artists with one of their paintings after release from prison.



Street-cleaning truck disperses artists

ber 28, a Saturday, in another part of the city far removed from the site of the original attempted exhibition.

The artists unanimously rejected this "concession." Saturday is a working day for most Soviet citizens, so few would be able to attend.

Once again, the ruling caste has demonstrated its acute sensitivity to any manifestation of independent thinking in the field of the arts. Let one artist get away with it and who knows where it will end?

Whatever the value of their work may be — and the bureaucrats are clearly determined to prevent us from being able to assess it — the dissident artists deserve international commendation for their courage in standing firm against the mindless bureaucratic censorship.

Campaigning for socialism

CONYERS-MCCUTCHEON DEBATE SET IN DETROIT: Hattie McCutcheon, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress from Michigan's 1st C.D., will debate Democratic incumbent John Conyers on Oct. 4 in Detroit. Conyers is a prominent member of the Congressional Black Caucus.

The debate will focus on the ques-

tion of political strategy for the Black liberation movement. It is cosponsored by the Student-Faculty Council at Wayne State University, and will be held at 2 p.m. in the Upper Deroy Auditorium on the Wayne State campus.

HEISLER PLANS SPEECHES TO UNION MEETINGS: The Illinois Socialist Workers Campaign Committee has sent a mailing to some 650 trade-union officers and members in the state, requesting that Ed Heisler, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate, be invited to speak at a meeting of their union.

"Because of the attacks by big business on our living standards many trade unionists are interested in hearing the point of view of Socialist candidates for public office in this election," the letter states. "In Illinois 40,000 voters, many of them trade union members, signed petitions placing the Socialist candidates on the November 5th election ballot."

The mailing also included a speaking engagement form, return envelope, and a brochure with the socialist positions on issues facing the trade unions.

The mailing went to major union locals and to unionists who had supported antiwar demonstrations or the Sept. 8, 1973, demonstration against inflation and unemployment.

Already in his campaign Heisler has spoken to the Champaign-Urbana labor federation; the Local Chairmen's Association of the United Transportation Union, Chicago switching district; and to several locals of the United Mine Workers.

LAUNDRY WORKERS HEAR D.C. SOCIALIST: Nan Bailey, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Washington, D.C., recently made a campaign appearance at the National Laundry Company at the invitation of one of the workers.

Thirty workers, most of them Black women, came out of the laundry on their lunch break to hear Bailey speak.

The inside workers at the laundry make only \$2.40 an hour. They applauded the socialist candidate enthusiastically when she attacked her Democratic opponent, Walter Washington, for his ties to big business in D.C. Several of the workers signed cards endorsing Bailey's campaign.

In another development, four SWP candidates in D.C. were certified Sept. 18 for the November ballot. They are Bailey, Allan Budka for city council chairman, and Sara Smith and Anne Powers for city council at-large.

Campaign supporters had collected more than 23,000 signatures on petitions to place the candidates on the ballot, far exceeding the legal require-

ment of 12,000. Toba Singer is also running on the SWP ticket as a write-in candidate for D.C.'s nonvoting delegate to the House of Representatives.

PROTEST KILLING OF BLACK TEEN-AGERS BY DALLAS COP: Two unarmed Black teen-agers were gunned down Aug. 25 by a cop in a restaurant in Dallas, Tex. George Johnson Jr., 14, and his brother Johnny, 13, had gone into the restaurant for a drink of water when the cop, without warning, shot and killed them. The cops claim the brothers were attempting an "armed robbery."

The killings and subsequent police cover-up have provoked demands in the Black community for an investigation. A crowd of 1,400 Black people attended the brothers' funeral.

A statement by the Dallas Young Socialist Alliance called the killings part of a "pattern of racist violence by the Dallas cops." The statement cites the murder last year of Santos Rodriguez, a 12-year-old Chicano student, while he was handcuffed in the back seat of a police car. Protests by the Chicano community led to the conviction of the killer-cop for homicide.

The YSA statement demanded the immediate suspension of the two cops involved and supported the call for an independent investigation of the killings.

—ANDY ROSE



Hattie McCutcheon

Militant/Mark Satinoff

Rockefeller's wealth and power:

By DICK ROBERTS

From the moment President Ford picked Nelson Rockefeller to be vice-president, Rockefeller has lied about his own and his family's wealth and power.

First he said he was worth \$33-million.

Then he upped it to \$62.5-million.

But in addition, he said, "I receive the income during my lifetime of two trusts with total net assets of \$120-million." That put his total worth at \$182.5-million.

When the Senate Rules Committee opened hearings Sept. 23 on Rockefeller's confirmation, the figure had risen to \$218-million.

Rockefeller declared, "This myth about the power which my family exercises needs to be brought out into the open. It just doesn't exist."

And the vice-president-to-be added that there is no such thing as outside control of corporations. They are run by managers "who work their way up to the top."

"There could be no conflict" between his financial interests and his role as vice-president, said Rockefeller, "because my sole purpose is to serve my country."

The Attica murderer outdid himself.

What are the facts?

Trust funds

As Rockefeller was testifying in Washington, *New York* magazine hit the newsstands with the disclosure of the assets of one of Rockefeller's trust funds:

"Counting just the assets in this account alone," said reporter Dan Dorfman, "the Nelson A. Rockefeller Trust was worth, as of June 28, 1974, at least \$126,776,331."

"Rocky is obviously worth more than that, much more. The 'Nelson A. Rockefeller Trust' is, we're told, only one of two trusts administered for him by Chase Manhattan. The second trust is said to be . . . larger in the total value of the assets managed." Dorfman put the total value of the two trust funds at \$300-million.

There are fewer than 100 people in the United States worth \$300-million. At least five of them are named Rockefeller.

No federal income tax

The following is from a Sept. 23 Washington, D.C., dispatch by Reuters.

Vice President-designate Rockefeller, one of the nation's richest men, revealed today that he had paid no federal income taxes in 1970 even though his income totaled more than \$2.4 million.

The former New York-governor made public a 10-year compilation of his tax returns up to 1973. It showed his total income for the period was \$46.9 million, his charitable contributions \$14.6 million and his federal, state and local taxes \$21.7 million.

The compilation showed that, because of large deductions including gifts to charity and "major shifts" in his investment portfolio of trust funds, Rockefeller paid no federal income taxes on his 1970 income.

Rockefeller was in a select group. Two other millionaires, both unnamed by the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation, also paid no federal income taxes for 1970.



These Mideast Exxon pipelines pump money into Rockefeller's pockets

Dorfman's disclosure confirms the analysis already presented in *The Militant* (see the Sept. 6 issue) that Rockefeller money is hidden behind the "street names" of immensely powerful trust funds located at the Chase Manhattan Bank (chairman, David Rockefeller).

The trust fund portfolio reported by Dorfman is the first trust fund of a member of the American ruling class ever made public. Let's take a closer look at it.

Its annual income is \$3.9-million.

There are 42 securities including state and municipal bonds, common and preferred stocks, and United States Treasury bills.

The state bonds include holdings in California, Florida, Connecticut, Montana, New Jersey, and Puerto Rico.

There are five different holdings in the New York State Housing Finance Agency and one million shares in the Port of New York Authority.

Measured in terms of asset value, however, 86 percent of the trust assets are in common stock. The biggest are: 308,200 shares of Exxon, worth \$21-million; 206,350 shares of Standard Oil of California, worth more than \$5-million; 130,300 shares of Eastman Kodak, worth more than \$13-million; and 83,922 shares of IBM, worth almost \$18-million.

Standard Oil trust

Rockefeller argues that there are no Rockefeller interests.

Yet according to this portfolio, the \$21-million worth of Exxon shares Rockefeller holds in this trust fund were worth only \$2-million when the trust fund was set up.

That dates the establishment of the trust fund at about 1939—35 years ago, when Exxon shares (then Standard Oil of New Jersey) were selling for one-tenth their present value.

It suggests that the trust fund was set up by John D. Rockefeller II, Nelson Rockefeller's father. And it happens that John D. Rockefeller II had six children: Abby, John D., Nelson, Laurance, Winthrop (now deceased), and David, each of whom undoubtedly inherited comparable Exxon holdings.

Now we are talking about 1,849,200 shares. In 1973 alone these shares paid dividends of \$8.2-million. That constitutes Rockefeller interest—interest in the world's largest, most powerful oil cartel.

Exxon holdings outside the United States stretch from Venezuela to the Middle East and Indonesia. Exxon owns 50 percent interest in the oil consortium preparing to exploit the offshore oil of South Vietnam's South China Sea—one of the main econom-

in a small category of people, because with a population of more than 200 million, it means that less than one-half of one percent of the population held any trust funds to begin with.

But the income from most of these trust funds is well below the income from the Nelson Rockefeller trust as disclosed in the *New York* magazine article. That income was \$3.9-million.

There are only 306 trust funds in the United States with incomes of \$1-million or more.

If, as in the case of the Rockefeller family, each of the members holds two or more such giant trusts, we are beginning to get an idea of the small number of powerful ruling-class families.

In 1937 Ferdinand Lundberg named his famous expose of the ruling class *America's 60 Families*. The figure does not need revision today.

Yet *Fortune* magazine annually lists 500 U.S. manufacturing corporations, each with assets above \$168-million; 50 commercial banks, each with assets above \$2.5-billion; 50 life insurance companies, each with assets above \$600-million; 50 financial corporations other than banks, each with assets above \$600-million; 50 retailing firms, each with assets above \$500-million; 50 transportation companies, each with assets above \$100-million; and 50 utilities, each with assets above \$1-billion.

These 800 firms constitute an industrial-financial empire worth well over \$1-trillion. It is owned and controlled by a tiny ruling class. It is managed, as often as not, by their agents.

Moreover, the ownership is not in every case direct.

Financial corporations, including banks, life insurance companies, foundations, and university trusts serve as secondary bastions of ruling-class control. The Nelson Rockefeller trust already described, for instance, shows 325,000 shares in Rockefeller Center, which itself is a holding company with one of the larger ownerships of Chase Manhattan Bank.



Palestinian refugee camps. Arabs are victims of Washington's global program to protect ruling-class wealth.

what Senate hearings won't tell

On top of this, as has also already been indicated in the case of the Rockefeller trust, the ruling class is heavily invested in municipal, state, and federal bonds.

This means that cities, states, and the federal government itself, through the collection of taxes, continuously remunerate the ruling class for its bond holdings.

On this score, Nelson Rockefeller is somewhat of an exception. As governor of New York State he was notorious for his manipulation of state and New York City budgets to enhance the Rockefeller interests. The story is told in vivid detail in Robert Caro's new book on Robert Moses, who for years headed New York construction projects.

New York Post columnist Nicholas Von Hoffman summarized Caro's findings Sept. 17. "Beginning in 1948," says Von Hoffman, "we learn that Rockefeller hired Robert Moses to lay out a highway program in Venezuela and then another in Brazil. Ignoring the question of having a Vice President with that kind of history of international meddling, let's proceed to the fact that Moses, without competitive bidding, was the man who chose the Rockefeller-controlled Chase Manhattan Bank to underwrite millions worth of Triborough Bridge bonds....

"But then Rockefeller and Moses had a falling out because the Governor wanted Moses to relinquish one of his 12 positions to his brother Laurence....

"To accomplish his end Rockefeller had to abolish the Triborough Authority, which had grown fabulously rich on bridge tolls, and amalgamate it into a super, regional metropolitan transportation authority. This, however, might jeopardize the \$367 million in Triborough bonds for which Chase Manhattan is a trustee. No problem. Governor Nelson Rockefeller of New York and Chairman of the Board David Rockefeller of the Chase Manhattan Bank met on Feb. 9, 1968 and drew up an agreement taking care of that. The agreement has been sealed and never made public."

Congressional 'investigation'

In order to penetrate the actual wealth and power of the Rockefeller interests, it would be necessary for the committees supposedly investigating this question to penetrate the entire web of their trust holdings.

They have shown little inclination



Multimillionaire Nelson Rockefeller claims his family yields no power

to do it. Senator Howard Cannon, the Nevada Democrat who heads the Senate Rules Committee, said on the CBS television program "Face the Nation": "We will point out and list the assets that he [Nelson Rockefeller] himself holds. But obviously, this is not going to get to the real root of the problem, which is the tremendous economic power that the Rockefeller family exercises."

There is the pretense that the questions that need to be dealt with are so vast and complicated that the congressional committees don't know where to start.

In Washington, two weeks ago, I interviewed William Cochrane, the staff director of the Senate Rules Committee.

He told me that "all of Nelson Rockefeller's financial statements, his in-

come tax returns, estate taxes, foundation reports, two trust funds, etc., are locked up in the safe in this office.

"The chairman and the members of the committee will look this material over very carefully, just as they did in the confirmation of President Ford."

Such an "eyes only" approach — limiting the information to trusted Democrats and Republicans — is far from bringing the matter to public scrutiny and allowing the people to find out the full truth.

But merely examining Nelson Rockefeller's files is not sufficient for getting at all of the Rockefeller interests. *Much more to the point would be opening the entire books of the Chase Manhattan Bank.*

The immense holdings of this bank are a matter of public record. In the

"Disclosure of Corporate Ownership," released by senators Lee Metcalf (D-Mont.) and Edmund Muskie (D-Maine), the holdings of Chase Manhattan trust funds in a number of the largest U.S. corporations were revealed.

The study was limited because most U.S. corporations refused to disclose their owners to Metcalf and Muskie. In fact, Exxon, Standard Oil of California, and IBM, all of which have large Rockefeller holdings as we have already seen, did not disclose their top shareholders to the congressional committees. Neither did the Chase Manhattan Bank.

Nevertheless, the Metcalf-Muskie report shows that Chase Manhattan trust funds are the *largest* shareholders of the following 19 corporations: Atlantic Richfield, General Electric, RCA, Union Carbide, Monsanto, United Airlines, American Airlines, Northwest Airlines, National Airlines, Burlington & Northern, Southern Railway, Seaboard Coast Lines, Consolidated Freightways, Transcontinental Lines, AT&T, Texas Utilities, Long Island Lighting, Florida Power & Light, and Safeway Stores.

The catch is that the holdings are listed in the "street names" of the trust funds. These are legal entities that conceal the actual owners.

One of the Chase Manhattan trust funds, Cudd & Company, ranked among the top stockholders of 62 of the 89 corporations that reported to Senator Metcalf.

Is the Nelson Rockefeller trust represented by Cudd & Company? If not, who does own the stocks represented by Cudd & Company? Which street name (or names) do stand for Rockefeller holdings?

These and similar questions — if answered — would throw considerable light on the Rockefeller fortune and begin to pierce the secrecy of the American ruling class as a whole.

* * *

Nelson Rockefeller had the gall to say he would serve the country as vice-president. This is the biggest lie of all.

Throughout his life in public office and as vice-president, Rockefeller has served and will serve only the ruling class.

And the committees supposedly investigating him, who laugh at his inanities and hypocrisies and refuse to ask serious questions, will also show who they serve.

'Patron of arts' destroyed Diego Rivera mural

By MICHAEL SMITH

With all the millions Nelson Rockefeller has invested in art treasures, some people might wonder whether he at least might have some concern for the preservation of art.

In this regard, the story of Rockefeller's encounter with Diego Rivera bears retelling.

Nelson Rockefeller's first "job" as a young man out of school in 1932 was managing a building for his family — Rockefeller Center. He contracted with the great Mexican muralist Diego Rivera for a fresco to be done in the lobby.

Rivera was asked to do a creation around the theme of "New Frontiers" and to portray "man's new and more complete understanding of the Sermon on the Mount." He replied with both a sketch of what he intended to paint, and a detailed letter. It was clear from the start he was preparing a work of

revolutionary art.

As Rivera wrote later: "[Rockefeller was] perfectly familiar with my personality as an artist and a man, and with my ideas and revolutionary history."

Rivera proceeded to paint a fresco that was, according to many who saw it, a magnificent celebration of human achievement and aspiration.

Rockefeller decided belatedly he didn't like Rivera's depiction of a worker-leader reaching out to join hands with a soldier, a peasant, and a worker. Nor did he like the picture of Lenin looking out from the wall.

Remove him from my painting, said the man with the money. When Rivera refused, Rockefeller ordered his police to capture the site and close off the fresco. Word spread around New York.

Rivera wrote sardonically about the ensuing protest demonstration: "At

once the mounted police made a show of their heroic and incomparable prowess, charging upon the demonstrators and injuring the back of a seven-year-old girl with a brutal blow of a club. Thus was won the glorious victory of Capital against the portrait of Lenin in the Battle of Rockefeller Center...."

It became a cause célèbre and Rockefeller promised not to destroy the mural. Six months later he ordered the fresco pulverized.

"We all recognize, then," wrote Rivera, "that in human creation there is something which belongs to humanity at large, and that no individual owner has the right to destroy it or keep it solely for his own enjoyment...."

But not for Rockefeller, who has Picasso tapestries hanging in his boat-house. Under capitalism it is those with the money, not the majority of people, who are the arbiters of culture.



This portrait of Lenin in mural infuriated Rockefeller.

Texas socialists victorious in ballot fight

By NELSON BLACKSTOCK

HOUSTON—The secretary of state's office has notified the Socialist Workers Party that it is in the process of certifying the SWP's candidates for the ballot in the November election.

On Sept. 23 the Texas Supreme

Court in a 5-to-4 decision ruled in favor of the SWP in its challenge of the right of Texas Secretary of State Mark White to rule the party off the ballot. White had claimed that a "random sample" of 1 percent of the 55,556 signatures on SWP nominating peti-

tions showed the party did not have enough "valid" signatures.

In a statement to the press, Sherry Smith, SWP candidate for governor of Texas, said, "Today's decision represents a victory for not only the Socialist Workers Party, but for the democratic rights of all the people of Texas. It is clear that today's decision is attributable to the public outrage at Mark White's attempt to keep us off the ballot."

In recent weeks White's office has received protests from such prominent individuals as David López, a Houston school board member; Ron Waters, a Texas state representative; José Angel Gutiérrez, La Raza Unida Party leader; and Ramsey Muñiz, Raza Unida candidate for governor. Hundreds of people around Texas sent telegrams and letters to the secretary of state backing the SWP's right to be on the ballot.

Sherry Smith testified in Austin at a Texas house Subcommittee studying the election procedures. The *Dallas Times Herald* reported, "Sherry Smith, the Socialist Workers candidate for governor, lashed out at what she called 'undemocratic and unconstitutional Texas election laws governing minority parties.' Dallas Representative Fred Agnich, a Republican, argued that she was espousing 'anarchy'

at the ballot box' by proposing unlimited access.... The Socialist Workers Party does not espouse anarchy at the ballot box or anywhere else,' Miss Smith retorted.

"You could end up with 100 parties on the ballot," Agnich said. "It is our position that the ballot should be open," the candidate said.

At a Houston protest rally Smith told campaign supporters, "We're here to make it clear that there are people in this state who have had it with the harassment and attacks on our campaigns. We've been bombed, we've been machine gunned, and we have had our headquarters broken into and our files stolen. None of that stopped us. Now they think they can make us go away by kicking us off the ballot.

"But this backfires against them. It is just like Watergate in exposing the true face of capitalist rule. They call this a democracy and then want only their two parties on the ballot. You can vote for one of us or one of us. But we know how to fight for our rights."

Ruben Rubago, Raza Unida candidate for state legislature from the 79th District, in which the SWP campaign headquarters is located, came to the rally to speak out in support of the socialist attempt to win ballot status.



Sherry Smith, socialist candidate for governor of Texas, told Houston protest rally that government attacks on SWP campaigns have backfired.

Militant/Tom Vernier

Mo. Supreme Court denies ballot spot to SWP

By FRED MURPHY

ST. LOUIS—The Missouri Supreme Court, in a 6-to-1 decision, has denied ballot status to Barbara Mutnick, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate from Missouri.

The ruling came in response to a suit filed by the SWP against Secretary of State James Kirkpatrick after he refused to validate SWP nominating petitions bearing 29,014 signatures. Missouri law requires 17,844 signatures for a spot on the ballot.

In their Sept. 11 decision, the majority of the court upheld Kirkpatrick's arbitrary and discriminatory restriction that signers of nominating petitions must be registered voters.

In all prior cases in Missouri, signers needed only to be qualified voters; that is, 18 years of age or older and a Missouri resident. The laws regarding nominating petitions clearly state that the signatures of qualified voters are required.

Only six weeks earlier, in a decision on the qualifications for signing initiative petitions, the same court had stated, "A qualified voter is a person who meets the qualifications pre-

scribed by Article 8, section 2, of the Missouri Constitution," which makes no mention of registration.

In order to keep the SWP off the ballot, the judges had to take the highly unusual step of withdrawing and rewriting their previous decision!

They could find so little basis for their decision in Missouri law and court decisions that their arguments centered on cases in the Illinois, Arizona, North Carolina, and New Jersey state courts. As the dissenting justice pointed out, these decisions were based on entirely different state election laws.

The dissenting opinion also noted the undemocratic nature of the court's decision: "In reality, we [the court] are making a policy decision in this case, electing to make it more difficult for new political parties to be formed, by requiring the signers to be registered voters.... We should interpret [the election laws] in favor of extending the political election process and not add to the difficulties of getting new points of view before the electorate."

Barbara Mutnick called the court's ruling "a blow to the democratic rights of all Missourians. At a time

when many working people are looking for an alternative to the twin parties of big business, the Supreme Court justices, who are Democratic and Republican appointees themselves, have moved to prevent a real choice in the November elections."

The Missouri SWP campaign is continuing actively on a write-in basis. Interest in the campaign has been heightened by the SWP's efforts to gain ballot status.

Mutnick spoke recently to meetings of 35 and 40 students at the University of Missouri-St. Louis and Washington University. After the meetings, 12 students signed cards endorsing the campaign. She also spoke at a rally in defense of J. B. Johnson, a young Black victim of a police frame-up.

In another development, Jewish Hospital in St. Louis has challenged Mutnick's right to collect unemployment benefits. She was fired from her job there the day after she announced her campaign last March. The hospital claims that because Mutnick is actively campaigning for U.S. Senate, she is "not actively seeking employment and is not available for work."

Mutnick defended herself against these charges at a Missouri Division of Employment Security hearing Sept. 16. In a statement after the hearing, Mutnick said, "Is Jewish Hospital assuming that one cannot hold a job and also run for office? Their outrageous action in firing me has unintentionally revealed the real attitude of the people who run this country toward the elections.

"I was told by Jewish Hospital that no employee was allowed to run for public office. If every company, industry, and institution enforced such a policy, no one who works for a living could run for office. As the Democrats and Republicans see it, elections are the private preserve of lawyers, business executives, and other wealthy people," the socialist candidate declared.

Mutnick has also made a complaint against Jewish Hospital to St. Louis Circuit Attorney Brendan Ryan. SWP campaign supporters have discovered that it is a felony under Missouri law to discharge an employee for his or her political beliefs. Mutnick demands that Ryan enforce this law and defend her rights.

Wash. socialists hold nominating convention

By WESLEY WEINHOLD

SEATTLE—A convention of the Socialist Workers Party held here Sept. 17 nominated six candidates for the November election.

On the same day, the primary elections for the Democratic and Republican parties attracted the lowest percentage voter turnout in the history of the state. Only 21 percent of the eligible voters in Seattle went to the polls. Officials had predicted a 44 percent turnout, but clearly underestimated the disenchantment with the capitalist parties.

Fred Lovgren, congressional candidate in the 1st C.D., commented on some of the causes for disillusionment. He noted, "Nixon, the master crimi-

nal of Vietnam, is pardoned while the men and their families who are the victims of the Vietnam war are made into criminals and told that they have to 'repay their debt'.... Ford's amnesty is no amnesty, it's punitive."

Discussing "the great election reform hoax," Lovgren said: "The demand for disclosure of names and addresses by political groups is an attempt to discourage independent electoral action.... They demand we give them our names and then they tap our phones and get our supporters fired from their jobs and evicted from their apartments."

Lovgren announced that a hearing would be held in Olympia on Oct. 15 to take up the SWP's request for an

exemption from the campaign disclosure law. He urged broad attendance, noting that public pressure has already forced Washington Secretary of State Lud Kramer to announce that the FBI would no longer receive copies of SWP nominating certificates, contrary to the practice of the last two decades.

The other socialist candidates nominated at the convention were Claire Fraenzl, an activist in the Coalition of Labor Union Women, for U.S. Senate; Toby Emmerich for State Senate; Pat Beathard and Mike Downs for State Assembly; and Jeff Ford for King County Prosecutor.

The convention was attended by 144 registered voters. State law requires that 100 such voters attend.

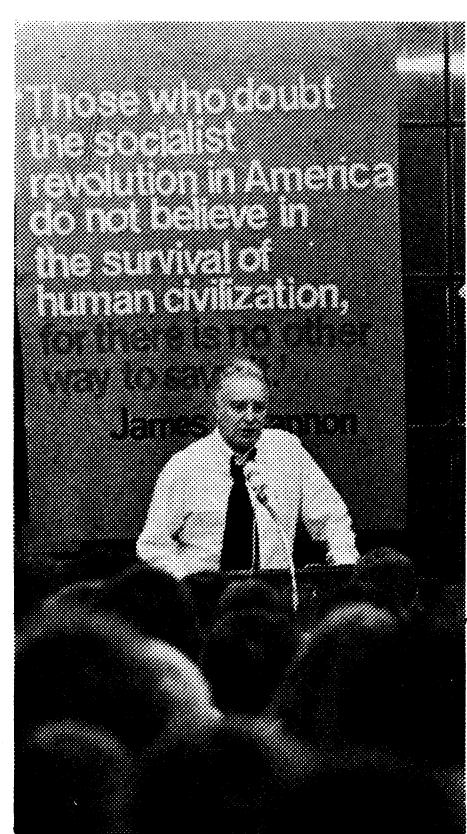
450 gather in New York

Meetings assess life of James P. Cannon

By CAROLINE LUND

Four hundred fifty people filled the Marc Ballroom in New York City Sept. 18 for a tribute to James P. Cannon. Cannon, who died Aug. 21 at the age of 84, was a leader of the revolutionary socialist movement since the early years of this century.

The New York meeting was the largest in tribute to Cannon since the gathering of 1,250 in Oberlin, Ohio, Aug. 23. Contributions and pledges made in the course of the meeting boosted the James P. Cannon Party-Building Fund by \$3,900.52.



Militant/Joseph Ryan
SWP leader Art Sharon speaking in San Francisco.

Building Fund, which was launched at the Oberlin meeting, by \$3,900.52.

The fund is designed to push forward the work of building the revolutionary socialist movement to which Cannon devoted his life. The primary goal of the fund, which now stands at more than \$59,000, is to make possible the publication of the many still-unpublished speeches, interviews, and letters by Cannon (see ad on page 25 for more details on the fund).

The New York tribute followed meetings that were held in Los Angeles, Minneapolis, San Francisco, and Tucson, Ariz., during the past few weeks.

These gatherings have been significant political events, not only in terms of building the James P. Cannon Party-Building Fund, but also for their unique educational value. The wide range of speakers has reflected the

great scope of Cannon's influence in many fields—from the history of the American radical movement, to the struggle for civil liberties in this country, to the development of the international revolutionary movement, to his impact on the radical youth of the 1960s.

Speakers at the New York tribute included Andrew Pulley, national chairman of the Young Socialist Alliance; Harry Braverman, president of Monthly Review Press; Cannon's son Carl Cannon and grandson Matthew Ross; Andrea Morell, treasurer of the James P. Cannon Party-Building Fund; and Socialist Workers Party leader Tom Kerry.

A special dimension was added by the remarks of Roger Baldwin, 90-year-old founder of the American Civil Liberties Union, who worked with Cannon over several decades in numerous civil liberties and labor defense cases.

The tribute meeting of more than 200 in Los Angeles Sept. 3 also reflected the range of generations who were inspired or influenced by Cannon. The audience, which pledged \$900 to the Cannon fund, included co-workers of Cannon's from the past, such as Arne Swabeck, a founding leader of the Socialist Workers Party, as well as many young people new to the socialist movement.

Among the speakers were Max Goldman, who served 16 months with Cannon in Sandstone federal prison after being framed up under the Smith Act; Milton Alvin, an SWP leader and friend of Cannon's for 34 years; Tybie Martin, longtime SWP activist and friend of Cannon; Harry Ring of the Southwest Bureau of *The Militant*; and Fred Halstead, 1968 SWP presidential candidate.

Message from A.L. Wirin

The following telegram was read at the Los Angeles meeting in tribute to James P. Cannon. A. L. Wirin is a well-known civil libertarian and longtime head of the Southern California American Civil Liberties Union.

Please let us add our voices in affection for and appreciation of Jim Cannon. Affection because he was so fine a human being. Appreciation for his outstanding contribution to civil liberties in the first resistance to the iniquitous Smith Act.
Mr. and Mrs. A. L. Wirin



Militant/Martha Harris
New York. Ushers call out pledges to James P. Cannon Party-Building Fund.

Also speaking were Barry Sheppard, national organization secretary of the SWP; Olga Rodriguez, a leader of the Young Socialist Alliance and SWP gubernatorial candidate in California; Cannon's grandson Matthew Ross; Jessica Star, one of Cannon's secretaries, who helped prepare his book *Speeches to the Party*; and Walta Ross, the daughter of Rose Karsner, Cannon's lifelong companion and co-worker.

The Sept. 6 meeting of 70 people in Minneapolis highlighted Jim Cannon's important advisory role in the 1934 Minneapolis Teamsters strikes that led to making Minneapolis a union town. Cannon was sent to Minneapolis by the Communist League of America (predecessor of the SWP) as soon as the strikes took on the dimension of a major class battle.

Speaking at the Minneapolis tribute meeting were Harry DeBoer and Jake Cooper, two of the Trotskyists who were leaders of Teamsters Local 544 and of the strikes. The two also later underwent trial and imprisonment with Cannon for their class-struggle activity and opposition to World War II.

Also speaking was Pauline DeBoer, who first met Jim Cannon and Rose Karsner during the Minneapolis Smith Act trials; Charles Scheer, a leader of the SWP who joined the party in 1938; and Betsy Farley, chairwoman of the Twin Cities Young Socialist Alliance. Contributions to the Cannon fund totaled \$500.

In San Francisco 250 people attended a Sept. 14 Bay Area tribute

to Cannon. SWP leader Clifton DeBerry chaired the meeting, at which the main speaker was Farrell Dobbs, a longtime central leader of the SWP.

Other speakers were SWP leaders Art Sharon, Ann Chester, and Carole Seligman. \$2,300 was raised for the Cannon fund.

On Sept. 6 a tribute meeting in Tucson, Ariz., heard George Papcun, a longtime socialist and friend of Cannon; Betsy McDonald of the SWP; and Charles Needham of the Young Socialist Alliance.

Future issues of *The Militant* will carry further speeches or excerpts from speeches at these meetings.

Message from James T. Farrell

The following message from the writer James T. Farrell was read at the New York Tribute to James P. Cannon.

I was saddened by the death of James P. Cannon. It has been many years since I have seen him but I have thought of him often, and it has become very clear to me that he lived out his life in accord with the best impulses of his rebel youth. He came from the American working class, and he had a class feeling that was like instinct. He was manly and courageous. The life of James P. Cannon is one that should not be forgotten. With affection and sadness, I salute his memory.
James T. Farrell

Tribute to Cannon's aid to British Trotskyists

By PAT FRYD

LONDON—Fifty-five persons gathered here Sept. 6 to pay tribute to Jim Cannon. The meeting was organized by the International Marxist Group (IMG), British section of the Fourth International.

A literature display included some of Cannon's works, and on a wall-poster those present were able to read the text of Cannon's last public speech—the taped message he sent last May to the celebration of the tenth anniversary of *Intercontinental Press*.

The first speaker was Harry Wicks, a founding member of the British Communist Party, who was expelled in 1932 and helped produce the first

British Trotskyist paper, *Red Flag*, in 1933. He is now a member of the International Socialism group.

After outlining Cannon's history in the Marxist movement, Wicks went on to speak of the particular influence Cannon had on the British Trotskyist movement and the immense contribution made by the Communist League of America (predecessor of the Socialist Workers Party) in helping the young British group get started.

Wicks described how *The Militant*, the paper of the Communist League, inspired the British Trotskyists, particularly in February 1933, when *The Militant* was published three times a

week in response to Hitler's rise to power in Germany.

He went on to outline the difficulties faced by Trotskyists in Britain from 1932 to 1938 and to pay tribute to the role Cannon played during his 1938 visit to Britain, when he attempted to get the British Trotskyists to understand and act on the need for unity between the several existing groups. Wicks concluded by declaring that revolutionaries must pledge to uphold Cannon's concept of internationalism.

The second speaker was Bob Pennington, national secretary of the IMG. He argued that the meeting should have been organized by all the

British left. Although there are differences on the left, he said, without Cannon there would have been no Trotskyist movement in Britain, or it would have been very different.

Pennington pointed out that understanding our origins in the Marxist movement, as Cannon did, is a key for us in beginning to build the revolutionary movement today. He stressed the importance of standing firm on principled questions.

Pennington ended by saying that to build the revolutionary movement in any country it is absolutely necessary to be part of the international revolutionary socialist movement. Outside it there is no future.

Jim Cannon's main work: building

The following is the speech made by Tom Kerry at the Tribute to James P. Cannon held in New York City Sept. 18. Kerry is one of a number of Socialist Workers Party leaders for whom 1974 marks their fortieth year of work alongside Jim Cannon in building the revolutionary socialist party in the United States.

I knew the invitation to speak at this meeting would present a problem: How, in the brief time allotted, would it be possible to deal adequately with the many aspects of Jim Cannon's kaleidoscopic personality; or even to recite but a small portion of the store of biographical reminiscences; or to list, let alone expatiate on, the countless contributions made in his lifetime of service to the working-class struggle for a world socialist society?

Having long ago learned not to attempt the impossible, I decided to address myself to what I consider the dominant trait of Jim Cannon's political physiognomy (understanding by that term the external manifestation of a compulsive inner drive), namely, the building of a Leninist combat party on American soil capable of leading the working-class struggle for socialist power in this citadel of world imperialism.

The building of a Leninist party and Leninist international was a major preoccupation of Cannon's political life. Jim had been convinced, by the experience of the October 1917 revolution in Russia and its repercussions in Europe and the world, that the combat party was an indispensable prerequisite for the conquest of proletarian power—at least in the industrially advanced countries of the world.

From that time forward Cannon considered himself a Leninist. "Lenin's greatest contribution to his whole epoch," Cannon wrote, "was his idea and his determined struggle to build a vanguard party capable of leading the workers in revolution."

"And he did not confine his theory to the time of his own activity. He went all the way back to 1871, and said that the decisive factor in the defeat of the first proletarian revolution, the Paris Commune, was the absence of a party of the revolutionary Marxist vanguard, capable of giving the mass

movement a conscious program and a resolute leadership."

Jim then underscores the paramount importance he attached to what he considered Lenin's primary contribution, by concluding: "It was Trotsky's acceptance of this part of Lenin in 1917 that made Trotsky a Leninist."

Convert to Leninism

Although Jim Cannon became a convert to Leninism in the period following the October revolution of 1917, it was not until 1928, 11 years later, that he became a Trotskyist. Through a fluke he came into possession of a copy of Trotsky's "Criticism of the Draft Program of the Communist International" at the Sixth World Congress of the Comintern.

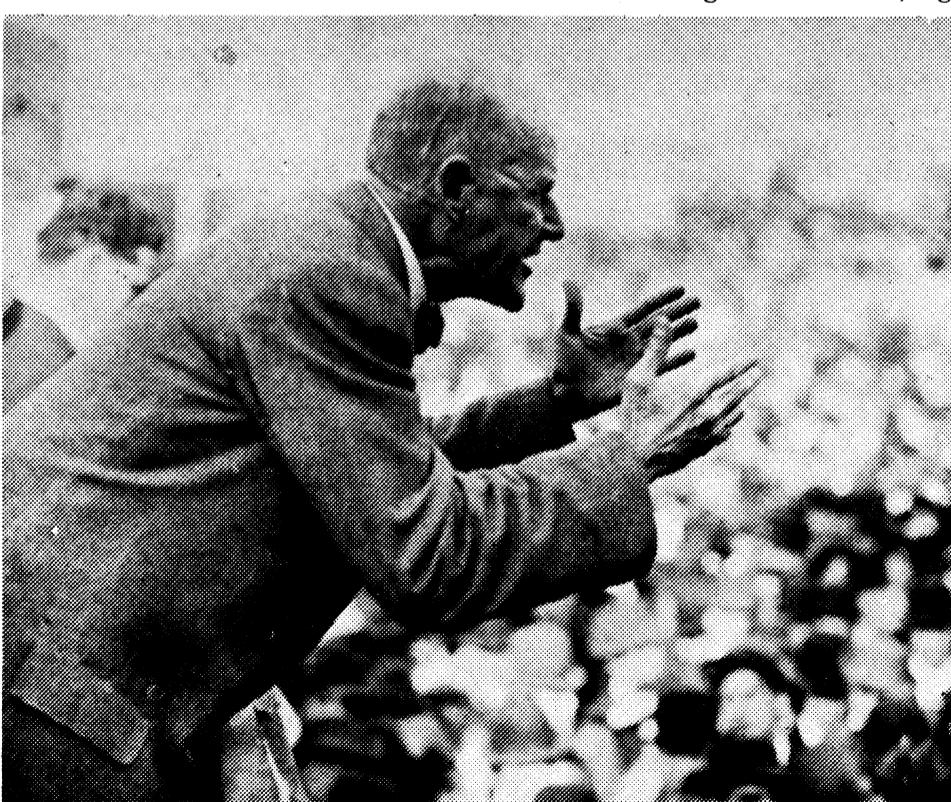
A study of that document convinced Jim that Trotsky was advocating and defending the Leninist line in theory, strategy, tactics, and party organization. The rest is history. The "Criticism of the Draft Program of the Communist International" was published in the very first issues of *The Militant* and became the platform of the American section of the Trotskyist Left Opposition.

From that time forward, to Jim Cannon, Leninism and Trotskyism were synonymous. With perhaps one slight nuance. On the question of party organization Cannon considered himself a "Leninist," and sometimes said so in informal discussion with party leaders, at times when he felt it necessary to recall the examples of Lenin's granite hardness and uncompromising attitude on questions involving the Leninist concept of the combat party.

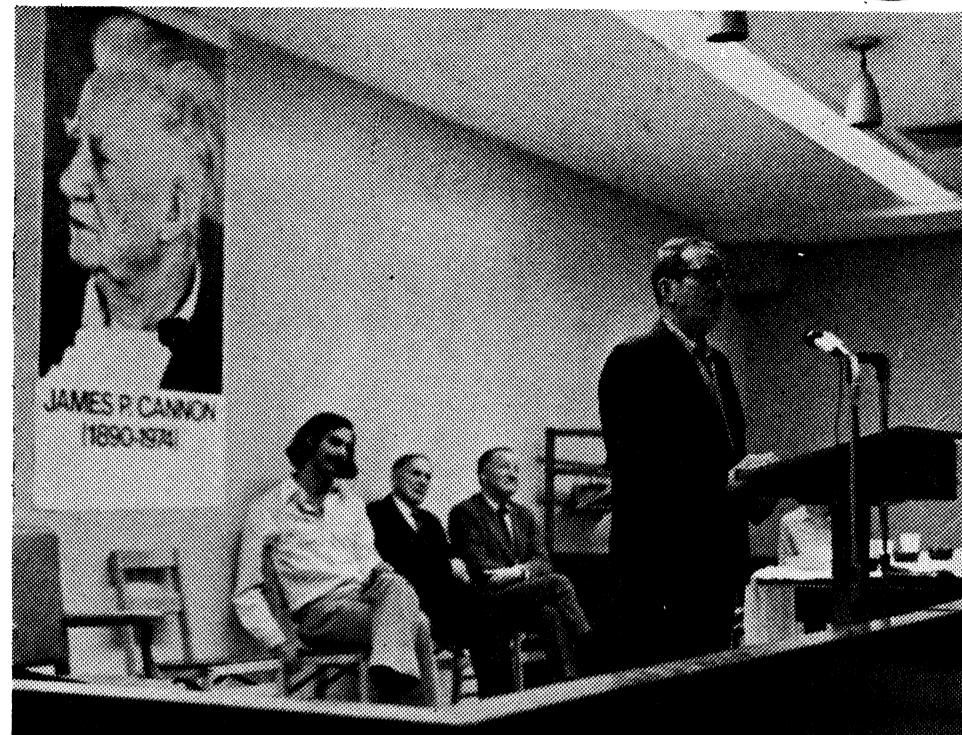
It was to this central question of the party that Cannon devoted much of his time, his energy, and his considerable talents. It commanded the unstinting application of his mental and physical resources to the very day of his death.

Much of Cannon's published work is of a polemical character. His opponents can testify that in internal party struggle he was a redoubtable faction fighter. But that was just one aspect of his character, albeit a very important one.

Jim was a great admirer of Eugene Victor Debs. He considered him to be one of the greatest orators, agi-



Socialist leader and orator Eugene V. Debs. Cannon pointed out Debs's weak side, which was avoidance of internal struggle over party policy.



Tom Kerry speaking at New York meeting

Militant/Martha Harris

tators, and propagandists that the American working-class radical movement had produced. He wrote a pamphlet paying tribute to Debs's single-minded commitment to the workers' struggle for emancipation from wage slavery.

He remarked on Debs's readiness to respond to the call for aid from any battlefield in the class war. This was the side of Debs that Jim admired without stint.

After Jim left the party center in New York to live in Los Angeles, he decided to write an essay on Debs, which had been long germinating in his mind.

"My projected essay," he wrote, "would have two sides. First, I would undertake to show Debs in all his grandeur as a proletarian hero; as the prototype and exemplar of the revolutionary man of the masses, the trade union organizer, the strike leader, the inspirer of the youth."

"That side of the project will be a labor of love for me, for I dearly love the memory of Debs."

"But," Jim added, "I would feel obliged also to deal with another side of Debs; what I consider the weaker side, which has never been adequately examined and explained by other biographers and evaluators. In fact, it has never been touched; and the true picture of the real Debs, 'the man with his contradiction,' with his weak side as well as his strong side, has never been drawn."

"Debs," Cannon observes, "was a man of good will, if there ever was one; a giver, a constructive worker, a builder."

A little too 'good'

"But he was just a little too 'good' to be the leader that a revolutionary party requires."

"Debs couldn't stand quarreling. He fled from 'brawlers' as from a plague. He couldn't abide embroilments in controversies, especially if they were tainted with conniving and 'maneuvering,' which unfortunately are not always absent even in party disputes."

"He feared faction fights and splits above everything, and simply ran away from them. As a result of all that, Debs turned his back on the internal affairs of the Socialist Party of the United States."

"He, the most influential leader, poured out all his energy, and even-

tually his life, in popular mass agitation, organization, and struggle, and allowed lesser men than he—lesser in all respects, in my judgment, and especially in revolutionary temperament—to run the party machine and shape the party policy."

There was no such contradiction in Jim Cannon's makeup. He was equally involved in internal party affairs and, when the occasion required, in mass action.

Jim, as you know, was convicted and imprisoned, along with a number of other Socialist Workers Party and Teamsters Local 544 leaders, under the Smith "Gag" Act for opposition to Roosevelt's war for the "four freedoms."

Party-building plans

He matriculated at Sandstone Penitentiary, at government expense, where he was provided the luxury of an ample amount of free time—which he proceeded to put to constructive use. He thought up plans, projects, and party campaigns. He proposed mass *Militant* subscription drives. He elaborated educational prospectuses and study systems, etc., etc.

I cannot think of a single change in Jim's physical mode of existence that wasn't converted into a launching pad for projecting party-building schemes, plans, and designs.

Those of us at the party center, who were responsible for directing and supervising the day-to-day activity of the party, were sometimes irritated at the profusion of ideas, proposals, suggestions, and, sometimes, criticisms that emanated from Jim's fertile mind. His life was a graphic application of Trotsky's memorable aphorism: Without the party we are nothing; with the party we are all.

Jim Cannon not only practices this creed, he preached it. And how eloquently he did so!

I note in the Sept. 20 issue of *The Militant* a transcript of an interview with Cannon by a young Mexican revolutionist just a week before Jim's death. The editors' forward to the interview concludes with the information that "at the time of his death Cannon was national chairman emeritus of the Socialist Workers Party."

According to my copy of *Webster's Collegiate Dictionary*, "emeritus" is defined as, "Retired, as for age, with a title corresponding to that held in

a Leninist party on American soil

active service; especially of a clergyman or college professor."

Now Jim was no clergyman, although he preached some powerful sermons against capitalist exploitation and oppression and for the socialist emancipation of the working class through revolutionary action.

Nor could he qualify as a "college professor," although as a teacher of revolutionary theory, tactics, strategy, and party building he had few peers.

I recall that he did demur at the "emeritus" title because of its connotation that he was "retiring," which he had neither the desire nor the intention of doing. He was finally reconciled to accepting the title—with the understanding that it carried no implication of retirement—as part of the planned leadership transition initiated by himself.

Party leadership

Jim had some very strong views on the question of party leadership. In one of the numerous speeches in which

he dealt with this subject, he affirmed:

"The problem of the party is the problem of the leadership of the party. I believe, that just as the problem of the party is the problem the working class has to solve before the struggle against capitalism can be definitively successful—the problem of the party truly is the problem of the leadership of the party."

In consonance with the importance he attached to this question, the problem of leadership selection, training, and transition on all levels was not to be left to chance or accident, but was invested with conscious organization and planning.

If you will permit me I should like to reminisce, at this point, about another facet of Jim's character.

In order to make room on our leading committee for younger party leaders coming to the fore, it was agreed that a number of older leaders would voluntarily accept the status of "advisory" members with voice but no

vote on the national committee.

Jim had spoken at our convention on the need for investing the process of leadership transition with the element of conscious planning. There was general agreement. But the process seemed to have bogged down. We concluded that the problem arose because Jim had neglected to follow the word with the need, and others seemed to be waiting for Jim to set the example.

When the matter was broached with Jim, he chuckled and said, "I never thought anyone would use against me what I was saying to them. Aren't they familiar with Rule 15, which reads: Don't do as I do, do as I say!"

Jim had all of his maxims codified into rules and listed according to number. No, we said, in this situation it is Rule 22 that applies, to wit: Do unto others—or others won't do either! Well, Jim saw the point, set the example, the others followed, and the logjam was broken.

And that, my friends, is how I lost

my vote on the national committee of the party.

The question of the party, Jim declared, "is the most important of all questions." But he was always quick to add that this truism was based upon the premise that the party was armed with the program of revolutionary Marxism.

Program comes first

The program came first. Without the revolutionary program there could be no Leninist combat party. That was Lenin's credo. It became Trotsky's view. And Cannon was their disciple.

Jim Cannon was a remarkable orator. One of the best that the radical movement in this country has produced. That is why most of his published work appears in the form of transcriptions of the spoken word.

And the work that best illustrates and underscores the theme of my remarks this evening is the Pathfinder

Continued on following page

FUND BOOSTED BY \$3,900

PAY TRIBUTE TO CANNON BY HELPING THE MILITANT

The James P. Cannon Party-Building Fund jumped ahead by \$3900.52 last week from contributions and pledges made at the Sept. 18 New York tribute to Cannon. The fund total now stands at \$59,244.47.

One of the main uses of the fund is to help publish *The Militant*.

Much of Jim Cannon's energy and party-building effort went into *The Militant*. He was one of the paper's founders, its first editor, and a longtime contributor. In Cannon's letters from prison in 1944, one of his main concerns was how to make *The Militant* "not just another radical paper but the national paper, dominating the radical labor field."

In 1974 *The Militant* has published 11 32-page issues, including this one (regular size is 28 pages). In two of these larger issues the extra space enabled us to immediately get into print previously unpublished interviews with Cannon. We need the added space to be able to publish further material by Cannon, as well as more messages from around the world and

speeches and reminiscences by those who knew and worked with him.

And *The Militant* is sorely in need of funds just to meet our ongoing production costs. Soaring prices—especially paper and postage costs—require increased financial support from our readers.

Please send your contribution to the James P. Cannon Fund to help *The Militant*. Any amount is appreciated. Donors of \$50 or more may choose a complimentary copy of any one of Cannon's books listed below.

Enclosed is my contribution of (circle):

\$1,000 \$500 \$250 \$100 \$50 \$_____

(Make checks payable to James P. Cannon Fund.)

Please send me:

- The First Ten Years of American Communism
- The History of American Trotskyism
- Letters from Prison
- Notebook of an Agitator
- Socialism on Trial
- Speeches for Socialism
- Speeches to the Party
- The Struggle for a Proletarian Party

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Send to: James P. Cannon Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Fund directors: Reba Hansen and George Novack
Treasurer: Andrea Morell



Leon Trotsky in Mexico

...Our program has withstood test of time

Continued from preceding page

Press book entitled *Speeches to the Party*. The book has the most revealing subtitle: "The Revolutionary Perspective and the Revolutionary Party."

The revolutionary perspective. That means the program! The projection of the course of historical development culminating in the Third American Revolution—the socialist revolution. It is the granite foundation upon which the party rests.

While the many speeches and letters published in this volume are replete with argument and affirmation of the revolutionary perspective in this country, the SWP's program is codified in written form as an appendix to the speeches, in the form in which it appeared in 1946, as the "Theses on the American Revolution."



Mass meeting during 1917 Russian revolution votes to approve Bolshevik resolution. Cannon learned importance of building revolutionary party from the Bolsheviks.

That was almost 30 years ago! And what years! These have been years of war, revolution, and colonial uprisings; of advances and retreats, of victories and defeats of the world revolution.

Test of time

The "Theses on the American Revolution" have withstood the test of time. That is the acid test of any program. In one of his letters to Farrell Dobbs, dated Oct. 14, 1952, published in *Speeches to the Party*, Cannon wrote in reply to some critics:

"The Theses are a fundamental document. . . . What is needed is merely amplification, expansion, and concretization of the probable line of development (insofar as this is possible)."

These words, written 22 years ago, can be repeated today without the change of a single word. With perhaps some amplification, some expansion,

and some concretization of the probable line of development.

Are there any other changes required in the light of the present situation in this country and the world? I don't think so. Changes in tempo, perhaps. But not in analysis or perspective.

Here we have an Earl Butz, our exalted secretary of agriculture, who advises those who have the temerity to protest the bounding inflation, which imposes an ever more meager diet on the working people, to "tighten their belts." That's his solution for all problems.

And in the White House, surrounded by counselors, advisors, consultants, and various and sundry experts, we have another mental midget who, when asked what his solution was to

and children like an apocalyptic plague.

In the advanced capitalist sector, galloping inflation and mounting unemployment give rise to the specter of economic prostration. To characterize its incipient stage the bourgeois pundits have coined a new word—stagflation. Which means that the world capitalist system is sick, and getting sicker.

You don't have to take my word for it—read the financial pages of any of the metropolitan dailies. Pay heed to what the bankers and financiers, the stockjobbers and money changers, the cabinet ministers and high government officials, are saying. Their system is sick and none of their medicine men have a remedy for what ails them. They can't even agree on what medicine to prescribe.

We can tell them what's wrong. And we can prescribe for them a remedy to cure what ails them. But I am afraid they won't find our kind of medicine very palatable.

As a matter of fact, to put it very bluntly, the world capitalist system is afflicted with an incurable disease. It is a terminal case of historical incompatibility. The bourgeois parasites have simply outlived their usefulness and outworn their obnoxious presence on this terrestrial sphere. Or, as Trotsky put it more succinctly, they are in the throes of their death agony.

What to do about it?

American revolution

I can only repeat the truth, as set down by Jim Cannon, in his draft of the "Theses on the American Revolution," in Thesis 15, the rousing climax and conclusion of this historical document:

"The hopeless contradictions of American capitalism, inextricably tied up with the death agony of world capitalism, are bound to lead to a social crisis of such catastrophic proportions as will place the proletarian revolution on the order of the day.

"In this crisis, it is realistic to expect that the American workers, who attained trade union consciousness and organization within a single decade, will pass through another great transformation in their mentality, attaining political consciousness and organization.

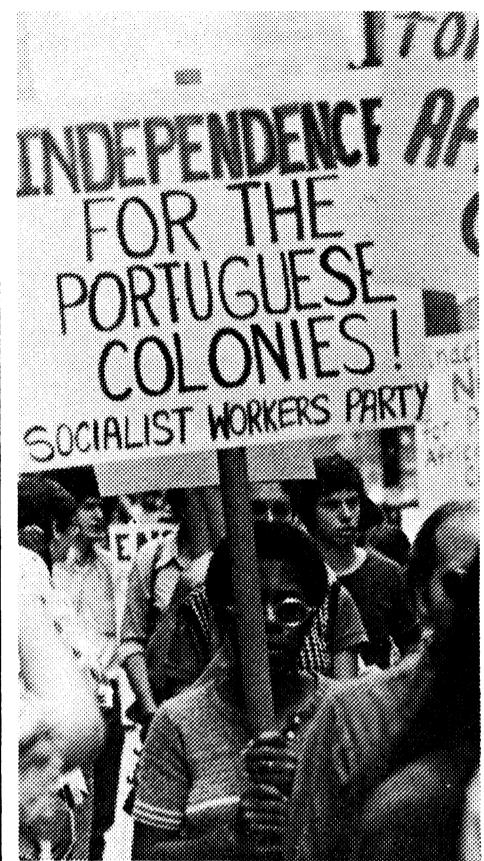
"If in the course of this dynamic development a mass labor party based on the trade unions is formed, it will not represent a detour into reformist stagnation and futility, as happened in England and elsewhere in the period of capitalist ascent.

"From all indications, it will rather represent a preliminary stage in the political radicalization of the American workers, preparing them for the direct leadership of the revolutionary party.

"The revolutionary vanguard party, destined to lead this tumultuous revolutionary movement in the U.S., does not have to be created. It already exists, and its name is the SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY.

"It is the sole legitimate heir and continuator of pioneer American Communism and the revolutionary movements of the American workers from which it sprang. Its nucleus has already taken shape in three decades of unremitting work and struggle against the stream. Its program has been hammered out in ideological battles and successfully defended against every kind of revisionist assault upon it.

"The fundamental core of a profes-



Militant/Robb Wright

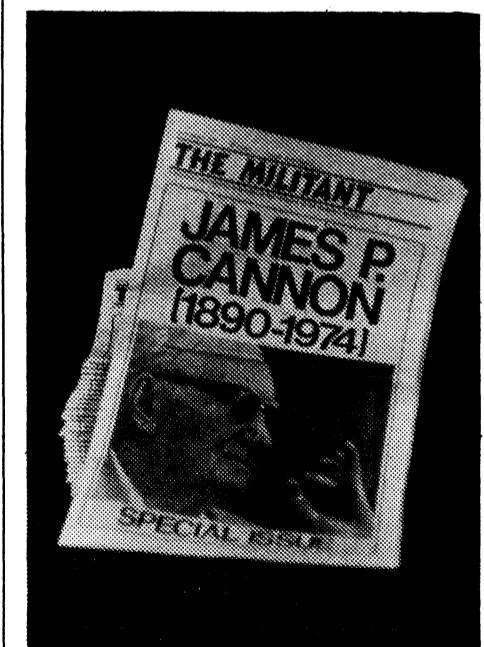
'The SWP is the living embodiment of the ideas for which Jim fought.'

sional leadership has been assembled and trained in the irreconcilable spirit of the combat party of the revolution.

"The task of the SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY consists simply in this: to remain true to its program and banner; to render it more precise with each new development and apply it correctly in the class struggle; and to expand and grow with the growth of the revolutionary mass movement, always aspiring to lead it to victory in the struggle for political power."

That is our perspective; that is our platform, and that is our aim.

We are confident that the party, the living embodiment of the ideas and ideals for which Jim Cannon fought, will successfully carry through its historic mission and thereby provide the most fitting monument to the memory of our teacher, guide, and leader, Jim Cannon.



It is still possible to get extra copies of the Sept. 6 special issue of *The Militant* containing the speeches from the Political Tribute to Jim Cannon held in Oberlin, Ohio, Aug. 23.

To receive one or more copies of this special issue, send 25 cents for each to: *Militant Business Office*, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Building the revolutionary party A guide to study of James P. Cannon's writings

This study guide, issued by the Socialist Workers Party Education Department, covers: the precursors of American Trotskyism, the origins and early tactics of the American Trotskyist movement, lessons from party expansion in the 1940s, lessons from internal struggles in the SWP, internationalism, and perspectives for the American revolution.

For a free copy, send a self-addressed, stamped envelope to SWP Education Department, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Socialist activists conference

What strategy for the Black struggle?

By NORMAN OLIVER

Where does the struggle for Black liberation stand today? What strategy will carry the struggle forward? What can be learned from the experiences of the struggle up to now?

These questions were discussed in some of the talks, classes, and workshops at the Socialist Activists and Educational Conference held in Oberlin, Ohio, in August. The gathering, attended by 1,250 people, was sponsored by the Young Socialist Alliance with the participation of the Socialist Workers Party.

A talk by SWP leader and New York State gubernatorial candidate Derrick Morrison traced the history of the Black struggle since the 1954 Supreme Court decision on desegregation and drew lessons for today.

Morrison described the huge changes that have taken place in this country as a result of these 20 years of struggle. He explained how 20 years ago there was a whole system of laws in the South—the Jim Crow laws—that had much in common with the apartheid system in South Africa.

"There officially existed separate schools, libraries, and recreation parks for Blacks and whites," Morrison said. "Drinking fountains and toilets were marked 'white' and 'colored.' The back of the bus was reserved for Blacks, and on the trains Blacks were segregated into special coaches. Even school books were Jim Crow, with the law requiring that the differing editions had to be stored separately lest they touch each other. And in one Southern state it was illegal to have an interracial game of checkers."

The Jim Crow system grew up in the period after Reconstruction. Segregation and the white-racist terror that enforced it were used to maintain Blacks as a cheap labor supply of sharecroppers and tenant farmers. But Jim Crow was not restricted to rural areas. It was instituted throughout the South and parts of the North.

Downfall of Jim Crow

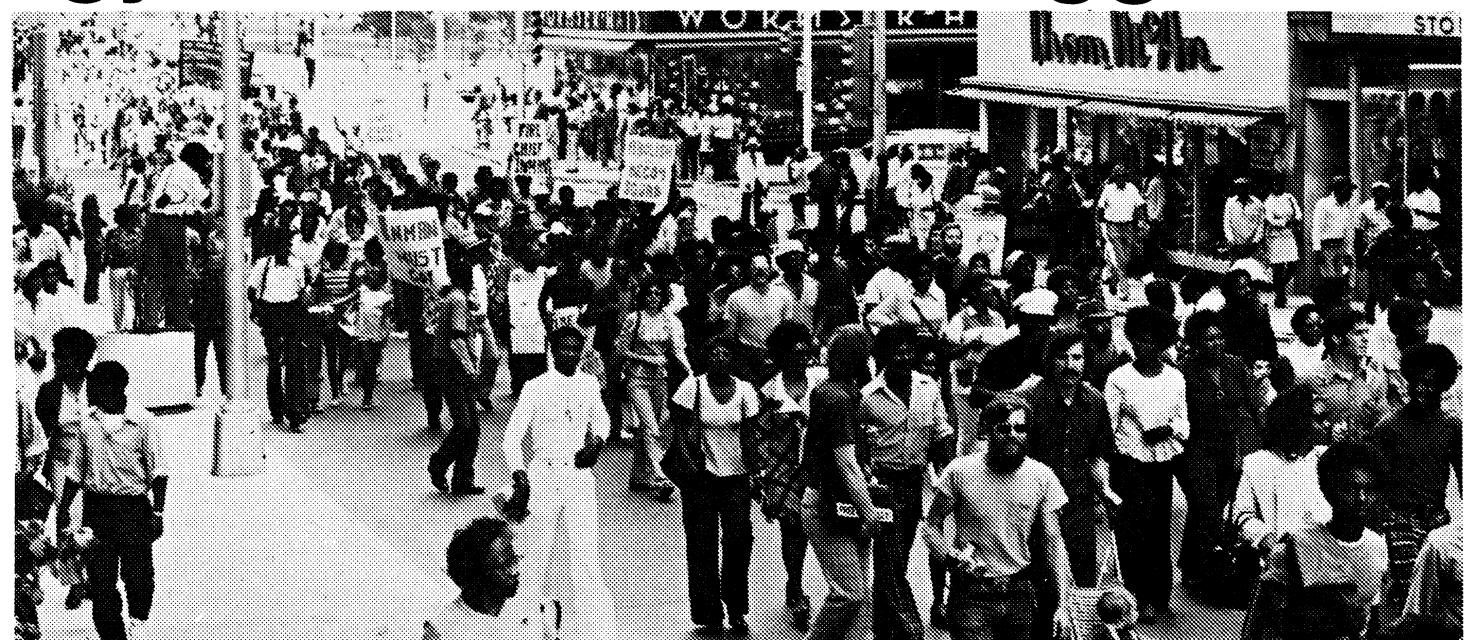
"Two forces, spawned and generated by American capitalism's growth and expansion, helped dig the grave of the Jim Crow system," Morrison said. "These were the mechanization of Southern agriculture and industrialization, which spurred the urbanization and proletarianization of the oppressed Black nationality."

In the cities, where Black people had more social weight and potential political power, it was harder to maintain the Jim Crow system.

But the downfall of Jim Crow did not come of itself, Morrison explained. Without a struggle, without the civil rights movement, Jim Crow would not have fallen under its own weight.

Civil rights fighters, bolstered by national liberation struggles in the colonial world, forced one concession after another out of the white rulers of America. "This," explained Morrison, "is what has unfolded in the years from the decision in 1954 on Jim Crow education to the decision in July 1974 on the Detroit schools. The capitalist ruling class, after massive struggles by Black people, was forced to concede the end of so-called de jure segregation. . . . But it has tried to call a halt to any attempt to dismantle so-called de facto segregation and to end the continuing economic oppression of Black people. It was possible, under capitalism, to end Jim Crow, but it is not possible under this system to liberate Black people."

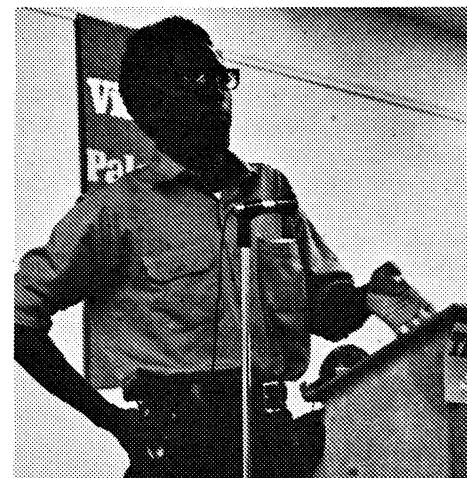
The limits of the changes that the ruling class is willing and able to



Demonstration against police terror in Atlanta. Revolutionary socialists have been active in this and similar protests around the country.

make are marked by the two Supreme Court decisions, which stand at each end of this 20-year period. The 1954 court decision ruled against de jure segregation, but this year the court threw out the plan to desegregate the Detroit school system. The justices claimed that if Detroit schools were integrated with the schools in the 53 suburban districts surrounding Detroit, this would create "administrative difficulties."

"What the justices were really saying," Morrison explained, "is that if the schools were desegregated on such a scale, then that would pose the question of desegregating housing on that scale. And if housing were desegregated, job patterns would then have to be desegregated. In other words, desegregating the schools would pose the question of desegregating every aspect of ghetto existence."



Derrick Morrison drew lessons of past 20 years for Black liberation movement today.

"The abolition of the segregation of Blacks in the inner cities and whites in the suburbs would mean fundamentally reorganizing this society; it would mean getting at the class roots of racist oppression. And that is what neither the Supreme Court nor the ruling class for which it speaks wants."

Crisis of perspective

In discussing the currents and tendencies that developed in the 20-year period between 1954 and 1974, Morrison explained how the activists trained in the civil rights movement developed a crisis of perspective when they tried to deal with the more basic economic problems of Black people.

These problems, which are becoming more acute for Black people today, are fundamental to capitalism. It will take a mass workers movement carrying out struggles independent of the capitalist class to begin to solve these problems.

In trying to forge a strategy to cope with such problems, however, these activists could not turn to the labor movement for militant support and collaboration. Labor's leadership was conservative and in many cases opposed to the struggles of Black Americans. In this situation, many Black organizations and leaders turned to liberals in the capitalist parties and the ruling class.

Some groups, such as the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and the Black Panther Party, began to chart a more militant course. But instead of charting a course that would mobilize the masses in struggle they fell into ultraleft positions. This, coupled with the intense government repression of these organizations, led to their isolation and disintegration. Other militant groups, such as the Congress for Racial Equality, were bought off with foundation or poverty program money.

Given the fundamental nature of the problems facing Black people, to lead the movement forward today, "it will take a highly conscious leadership, a more conscious leadership than it took to win the victory over Jim Crow," Morrison said.

"It will take a leadership that understands that nothing will be gained by reliance on the capitalist class or the parties controlled by that class. It will take a leadership that understands that gains can only be made through the independent struggle of the masses. And for the task of winning the battle to completely end Black oppression and liberate Black people, such a leadership will ultimately have to be a revolutionary leadership."

The way forward

The building of this revolutionary leadership and the way forward for the movement were the subject of a talk by Andrew Pulley, national chairman of the Young Socialist Alliance.

Pulley described the worsening situation Black people face today in light of the rampant inflation, unemployment, and massive cuts in already inadequately funded social services.

"An important thing to keep in mind in this regard," Pulley said, "is that there is a growing recognition on the part of many Black people that the solutions to these problems can be made only on a governmental level."

Black people need a government that would operate in their interests, ensure jobs for all, and put its resources into beefing up the educational system and meeting other social needs.

"A workers government is what

Black people need," Pulley declared.

"It is for these reasons that the SWP and YSA are campaigning for and pushing forward so energetically the idea that a party that represents the working class is needed.

"In our socialist election campaigns we aim to convince Black and other working people to break from the parties that administer their oppression and to support the party—the SWP—that represents their class interests."

Pulley explained that socialists advocate the building of a mass Black party and a labor party based on the trade unions because the development of either would signify the political awakening of the working class and Black people. This would represent "a step in the direction of the construction of the mass revolutionary socialist party that is indispensable for Black and labor emancipation."

Taking up the role that revolutionary socialists will play in the Black liberation movement, Pulley said, "We see ourselves as part of the militant leadership that must be built if the struggle is going to go forward, a leadership that understands the necessity of political independence from and opposition to the ruling class."

Although Black people in their majority vote Democratic, there are many independent struggles taking place today in the Black community that socialists can and should participate in.

Independent struggles

Such struggles, Pulley explained, "help increase the organization and confidence of the Black community, educate Black people about the na-

Continued on page 30



Militant Howard Petrick
YSA national chairman Andrew Pulley discussed need to build revolutionary leadership.

Resisters demand unconditional amnesty

Continued from page 32

common mood: "I'm going back with a gun at my back."

Geryl Fish, a 22-year-old Black vet told a *New York Times* reporter:

"What Ford offers isn't enough. It ought to be unconditional—no strings, no nothing. Just leave them alone."

"I was young when I joined the Marines—only 19 then—and I didn't know any better. I was stupid. It was not a war to be proud of, to tell your kids you fought in, or your grandchildren."

"We were going to help those people, right? We didn't help them. We destroyed them. That place will never be even close to right again."

"I saw a guy blow a baby's head off, right in her arms, when the moth-

er wouldn't tell us where Charlie was. Just clicked off a round and blew the kid's head off right in her arms."

Did he report that murder, the *Times* asked?

"Report?" he snorted. "Report to whom? The lieutenant and the captain were standing right behind me."

The majority of war resisters who fled the country went to Canada—the precise number is unknown—but there are also groups of resisters in Britain, France, and Sweden.

Gary Davis, a resister living in Montréal, said:

"We feel that the majority won't go back. Certainly at this point, the ones who do will be mostly the underground types who can't meet Canadian immigration requirements and have been having a rough time getting by."

Gerry Condon, of Amex/Canada, said, "They're trying to divide war resisters and deserters from other victims of the war. To say that we are responsible for the soldiers that died in Vietnam is like saying that a person who missed a plane is to blame when it crashes."

The Canadian government, which previously had open doors to war resisters, is now warming up to Ford's plan and creating a new problem for the exiles. A Canadian immigration spokesman recently announced that anyone reaffirming allegiance to the U.S., which is required under Ford's plan, might forfeit the right to live in Canada.

A lawyer at the Toronto war resisters conference described Ford's offer as a "one-way door out of Canada."

One category of GIs skipped over by Ford's plan are the 500,000 who were given less-than-honorable discharges for various petty violations of military code. The demand for unconditional amnesty should include them.

There are five types of military discharges. Three of them—"undesirable," "dishonorable," and "bad conduct"—can mean anything from losing veteran's benefits, to preventing one from getting a job or even getting on welfare.

From 1967 to 1972 alone, the number of undesirable discharges—which are issued administratively and don't require even a semblance of due process like a court-martial—jumped from 9,920 to 40,018. Many of those GIs are Blacks.

The September issue of *Ebony* magazine explains what less-than-honorable discharges can mean. They can mean "being denied most all GI benefits, even after combat duty. This means no education, housing and medical benefits; no GI Bill, no jobs with local, city or federal governments, which includes the post office, transit systems, antipoverty programs."

Moreover, vets with bad discharges "find it harder, if not impossible, to procure life and medical insurance, mortgages, home improvement loans, bonding or credit. They can't even get on welfare."

In addition to less-than-honorable discharges, the military puts a code on all discharge papers indicating the type of discharge the GI received. Employers can read these codes.

Vernon Jordan, head of the Urban League and a member of the Clemente

Review Board, told *Ebony*, "The really vicious part about all this is that the veteran himself has no idea what the code means or why it was put there. . . . All this compounds the employment problem faced by minorities, especially since racial attitudes on the part of some officers and NCO's are prejudicial."

Thus, "Many veterans without the means to make an honest living are sometimes forced to do so by illegal means," *Ebony* reported.

"The ACLU Foundation reports that a startling proportion of the black prisoners in the jails of this country are men with less-than-honorable discharges. The vicious cycle of discrimination in the discharge process aggravates the drug abuse and crime problem in ghetto communities and the problem of unemployment"

One old-timer was straight to the point. He told a reporter for the *New York Amsterdam News*, a Black newspaper, of his opinion of Ford's plan, "I agree with amnesty for the Black men who refused to go to war because this country has not done anything for those who did go and fight."

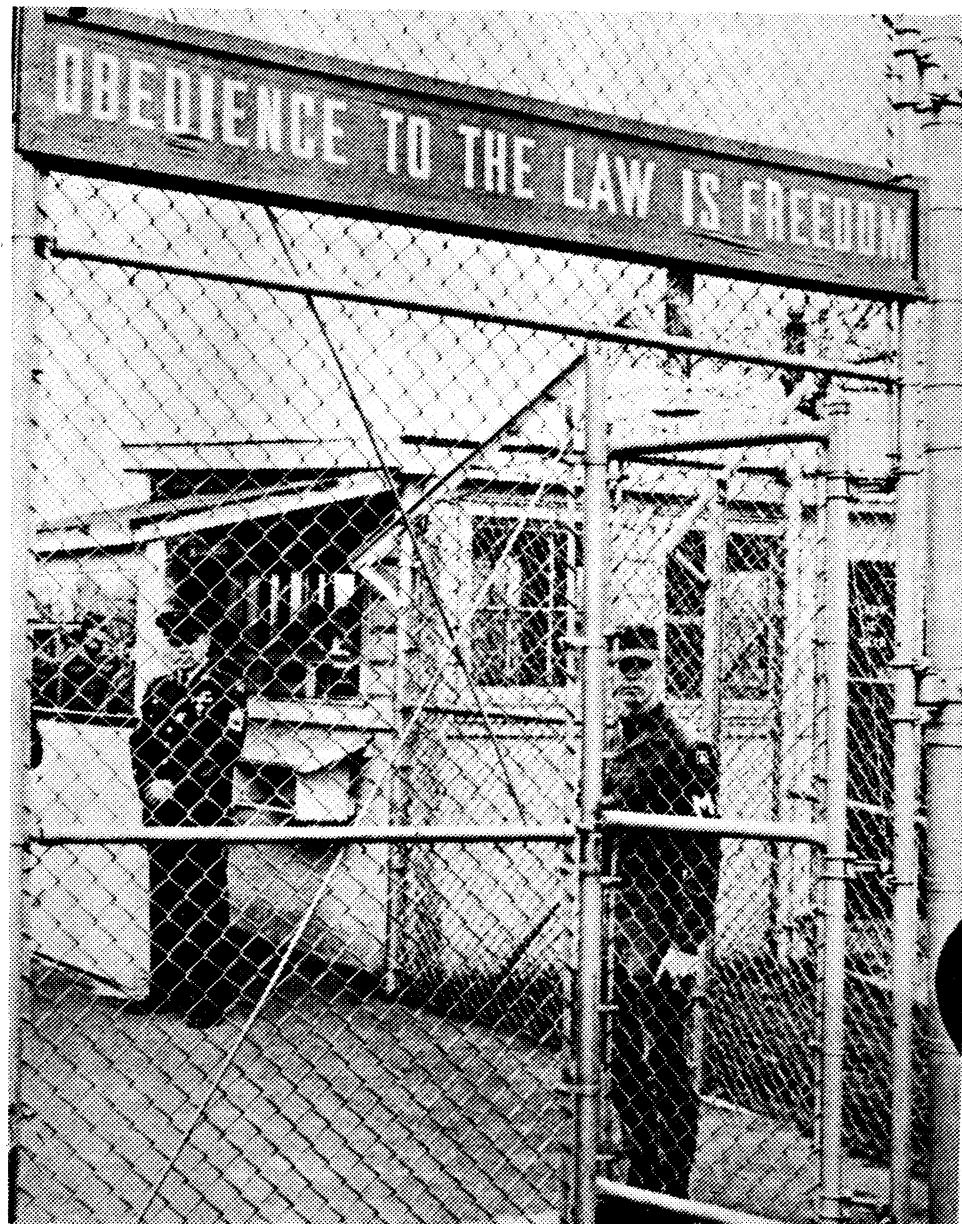
Ford pickets call for amnesty

DETROIT—Several hundred people gathered here Sept. 23 to protest President Ford as he spoke to the World Energy Conference. A number of groups participated, raising various demands, the most common of which was unconditional amnesty for all war resisters.

James Lafferty, coordinator of the sponsoring Ad Hoc Committee for Unconditional Amnesty for all War Resisters, expressed the overwhelming sentiment of the demonstrators:

"Thousands chose not to participate in the atrocity of Vietnam by evading the draft or deserting. The government labels these people criminals. We disagree. These people committed no crime. The real criminal is in Washington."

"We demand that all war resisters, whether they be veterans or exiles or deserters, be granted unconditional amnesty now."



Army stockade. War resisters reject concept of 'punitive repatriation.'

...Protests hit cop killing of Claude Reese

Continued from page 32

Young Reese fell mortally wounded, hit in the back of the head. Bosco claimed Reese threatened him with a metallic object in his hand that looked like a gun. But how could this have been true, since he was shot from behind, without even knowing that the intruder was dressed in blue?

Claude, an eighth-grader, was about five feet tall and weighed about 100 pounds.

Eighteen-year-old Patricia Reese told us what happened when she came upon the scene after hearing the reports that her brother had been shot.

When she tried to approach her brother, who was lying face down on the pavement, either Bosco or his partner told her to stay back. Then she watched incredulously as the two cops put handcuffs on her brother and picked him up like he was a dog or a piece of meat and put him in the patrol car.

He died a couple of hours later on the operating table.

The murder touched off angry meetings and demonstrations in the community. More than 100 people met Sept. 16 in the auditorium of the Brownsville Community Action Associates, the local federally funded anti-poverty program. They formed the Ad Hoc Committee for Justice for Claude Reese, headed by Irene Austin.

With the aid of the Bronx and Newark chapters of the Congress of African People, the Ad Hoc Committee held a news conference Sept. 18 to announce a funeral march that evening and a meeting with Mayor Abraham Beame the next morning to present their demands. Two of the demands called for Bosco's suspension and trial for murder.

Several thousand people participated in the funeral march. But as they waited outside to get into the chapel, the police brutally broke up and dis-

persed the crowd by running their cars into it and then getting out to beat up whoever they caught. The brutality was so crude that reports of it appeared two days later in the *New York Times*.

Times reporter Mary Breasted wrote, for example, that three reporters "saw six policemen beat a man to the ground, then stand over him and beat him over and over with their clubs."

"A few minutes before," she stated, "reporters saw the police club a man to the ground on the other side of East New York Avenue and then file past him, each one kicking him in the ribs."

None of the demands of the Ad Hoc Committee were satisfied in the meeting with Mayor Beame. At an outdoor rally attended by several hundred that night, committee leaders and community leaders such as Sonny Carson denounced Mayor Beame and the Black politicians who fronted for and collaborated with the mayor at

the expense of the community's demands.

The leaders called for a protest rally and demonstration at city hall on Sept. 25.

The approach of Democratic Mayor Beame and his city administration has been to whitewash the police murder with a few sops to the public outcry. The capitalist media have taken up this line as well.

The *New York Times*, for example, while running reports on police brutality and stinging commentaries on the conditions of poverty in Brownsville, has done its best to present the side of the cops. One such front-page article was headlined, "Bosco Shot 'Because I Was Going to Die'."

The Brooklyn Socialist Workers Party issued a statement demanding that Bosco be tried for murder and calling for the removal of the cops from Brownsville. This statement was distributed by SWP supporters in Brownsville and in other parts of Brooklyn.

Sales goal met in 20 cities

Militant circulation drive goes over top

By ROSE OGDEN

The angry reaction to the "full, free, and absolute" pardon granted Nixon by his hand-picked successor generated an enthusiastic response to *The Militant's* Sept. 20 issue, headlined "Nixon pardon: capitalist 'justice'".

Twenty areas met their goals. This is 69 percent of the 29 areas reporting their sales—a good score for the second week of *The Militant's* sales campaign.

Our aim is for every area to consistently sell the number of *Militants* each has set as a goal. Although some fell short with sales of the Sept. 20 issue, the national goal of 9,400 was

met because a number of cities went over their targets.

Supporters in Houston and Denver raced ahead, selling 140 percent of their goals. Both of these areas aimed to step up their sales because of activity taking place in the Chicano communities in commemoration of Mexican Independence Day.

Four hundred seventy Chicanos participating in the Fiestas Patrias parade and rally in Houston bought a copy of *The Militant*. *The Militant's* analysis of the pardon was especially welcomed at this event. Many people expressed their anger at Nixon walking off scot-free while thousands of Chicanos are locked behind bars be-

cause of racism and poverty.

Charles Sabatini sold 100 *Militants* at this event. He, like many other sellers, found that the interview with James P. Cannon by a Mexican revolutionist helped to further spark interest in *The Militant* among Chicanos.

Supporters in Denver report a similar experience at the Mexican Independence Day events held in that city. They sold 89 copies—all the copies they had on hand.

Detroit reports a good example of the importance of maintaining consistent sales in regular locations. During the spring sales campaign they sent teams to a college in Mount Pleasant, Mich., on a regular basis. Although slow in starting up those teams this fall, when they arrived on campus during the third week of school they were greeted by a number of students who said they had been looking for *The Militant* for two weeks!

Militant sellers are always looking for opportunities to sell *The Militant*. You might not expect a meeting of Sun Myung Moon, a reactionary evangelist from South Korea, to be a likely spot for *Militant* sales. However, *The Militant's* article on the witch-hunt in South Korea enabled Upper West Side New York supporters to sell 134 copies of the paper to people who came to protest Moon's political views and to curiosity-seekers.

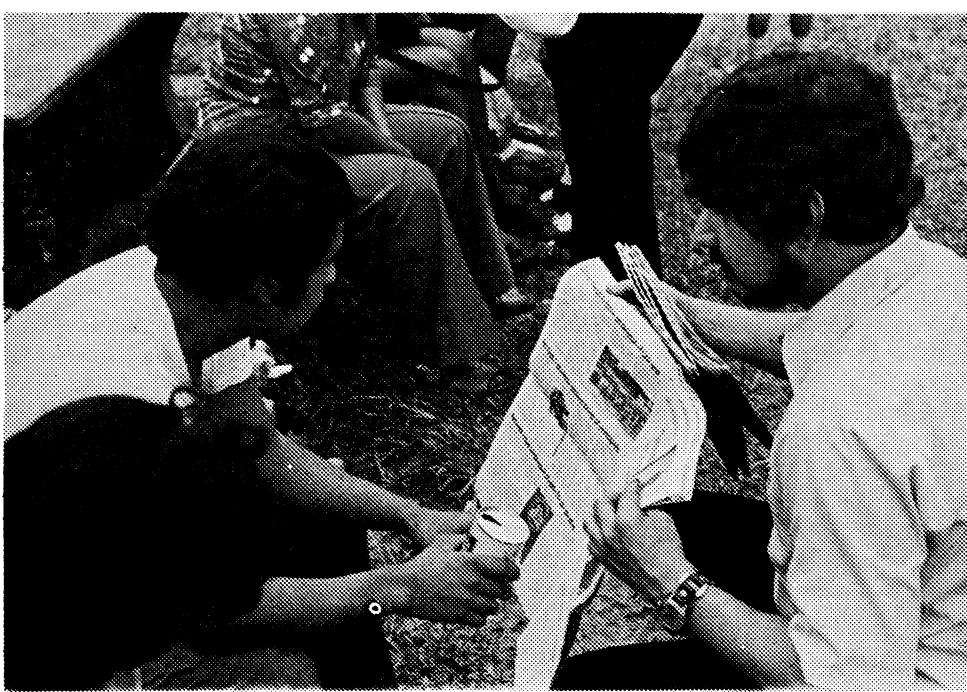
Portland not only met their sales goal for the second week in a row, but they also helped boost *The Militant's* drive for 12,000 new subscribers by selling 97 *Militant* subscriptions on campuses in their region.

The Militant's sales campaign is aimed to increase our weekly sales and reach out with the socialist al-

ternative. All readers are invited to take part in this campaign to build *The Militant* into the socialist news-weekly by taking a weekly bundle to sell (see coupon on page 31).

Scoreboard

AREA	GOAL	SOLD LAST WEEK	%
Houston	500	699	140
Denver	500	455	140
Twin Cities	400	514	129
San Francisco	375	444	118
Boston	600	702	117
LA (Central-East)	400	450	113
Portland	300	328	109
Philadelphia	400	430	108
Detroit	475	500	105
Cleveland	250	263	105
St. Louis	400	412	103
Atlanta	475	486	102
Upper West Side NY	425	433	102
San Diego	275	276	100
Lawrence, Kans.	25	25	100
Logan, Utah	25	25	100
Highland Park, NJ	13	13	100
Syracuse	5	5	100
Corona, NY	5	5	100
Toledo	15	15	100
Brooklyn	400	366	92
Chicago	675	606	90
Seattle	350	315	90
Oakland/Berkeley	700	600	86
Washington, DC	400	336	84
LA (West Side)	400	312	78
Milwaukee	75	54	72
Pittsburgh	375	266	71
Lower Manhattan	450	88	20
TOTAL SOLD		9,400	
LAST WEEK		9,423	100



Militant/Nelson Blackstock

Charles Sabatini sold 100 *Militants* at Fiestas Patrias celebration in Houston

Judge moves site of trial

Milwaukee march to protest racist frame-up

By TOM MAURER

MILWAUKEE—A march and demonstration has been called here for Oct. 5 to demand the dropping of all charges against James Ray Mendoza, whose murder trial is set to begin Oct. 8. Mendoza's trial—on charges of killing two off-duty cops—has been moved 207 miles away by local authorities in reaction to growing protests against this frame-up case.

The trial will now take place in rural, nearly all white Sparta, Wis. The change of venue was ordered Sept. 9 by Judge Hugh O'Connell, over the objections of Mendoza's attorney.

Seventy-five supporters of the Ray Mendoza Defense Committee picketed the courthouse here Sept. 12 to denounce O'Connell's ruling and to demand the immediate release of Mendoza. The defense committee is also building the Oct. 5 demonstration.

Participating in the committee are activists in Milwaukee's Latino community, members of the United Youth Federation (a Mexican-Puerto Rican group), Young Socialist Alliance, Revolutionary Union, and Youth Against War and Fascism.

The committee organized picket lines throughout the preliminary hearings for Mendoza in August and September, and held a rally of 400 at the courthouse Aug. 13.

The defense committee is also launching a campaign to get out the facts on the case and gain the support

of other groups and prominent individuals.

Mendoza has been charged with two counts of first-degree murder in the July 10 shooting deaths of two off-duty cops outside a South Side Milwaukee bar.

Following the killings, cops rampaged through the Latino community, ransacking homes, offices, and an antipoverty agency.

The strongest "evidence" against Mendoza is the testimony of a woman who says she heard two "Spanish-speaking" men arguing and fighting with a white man. She claimed they beat the man, knocked him to the ground, then shot him. However, a medical examination showed that there were no cuts, scratches, or bruises on the cops' bodies, just gunshot wounds.

The frame-up of Mendoza is being pressed despite the testimony of another woman who says she saw James Matulis, younger brother of one of the slain cops, shoot at least one of the officers. District Attorney E. Michael McCann has termed the woman an "unreliable" witness.

Other witnesses have said the younger Matulis was arguing with his brother in the bar prior to the shooting.

Police claim they found Mendoza's .22-caliber revolver at the scene of the killings. However, the medical exam showed that the cops were shot with a .38, the caliber used by the

Milwaukee police department. According to the exam, the cops were killed by dum-dum bullets from one of their own guns.

Despite this evidence, Mendoza is in jail, with bail set at \$100,000.

Organizations and individuals that have endorsed the Oct. 5 demonstration to free Mendoza include Herb

Powless, American Indian Movement; Ernesto Chacon, Latin American Union for Civil Rights; Los Universitarios of the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee (UWM); UWM Feminist Center; Black state legislator Lloyd Barbee; United Youth Federation; Wisconsin Alliance; Young Socialist Alliance; Revolutionary Union; and Youth Against War and Fascism.



Militant/Rich Klein
Sept. 12 picket line in Milwaukee demanded all charges be dropped against Mendoza

Calendar

ATLANTA

THE AMNESTY FRAUD. Speakers: Brian Riffert, Vietnam veteran and member, Socialist Workers Party; Geoff Pope, coordinator, Atlanta Workshop in Non-violence; others. Fri., Oct. 4, 8:30 p.m. 68 Peachtree St., Third Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forum Series. For more information call (404) 523-0610.

BROOKLYN

BROOKLYN SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN BANQUET. Speakers: Maceo Dixon, cochairman, Socialist Workers 1974 National Campaign Committee; Maxine Williams, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress, 12th C.D.; Rebecca Finch, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from New York. Sat., Oct. 5, 5 p.m., social hour; 6:30 p.m., dinner; 8 p.m., program. Party to follow. 136 Lawrence St. (near A&S). Donation: \$5; \$1 for program and party only. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (212) 596-2917.

CHICAGO

SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN RALLY. Speakers: Ed Heisler, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate from Illinois; Jane Van Deusen, SWP candidate for governor of Minnesota; Anita Leflore, AFSCME Local 2000, Illinois social service employees and executive board member of Coalition of Black Trade Unionists. Sat., Oct. 12, 7 p.m., reception; 8 p.m., rally. 428 S. Wabash, Fifth Floor. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Illinois Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (312) 939-0756.

LOS ANGELES: WEST SIDE

WHY SOCIALISTS SUPPORT AN INCORPORATED CITY OF EAST LOS ANGELES. Speaker: Mariana Hernandez, Socialist Workers Party candidate for city council of East Los Angeles. Fri., Oct. 4, 8 p.m. 230 Broadway, Second Floor, Santa Monica. Donation: \$1. Ausp: West Side Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 394-9050.

MILWAUKEE

ATTICA: DOCUMENTARY FILM BY CINDA FIRESTONE. Fri. & Sat., Oct. 4 & 5, 7:30 p.m. 2200 E. Kenwood Blvd. Bolton Hall, Rm. 46. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (414) 963-5551.

MINNEAPOLIS

SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN BANQUET AND RALLY. Speakers: Debbie Bustin, cochairwoman, Socialist Workers 1974 National Campaign Committee; Jane Van Deusen, SWP candidate for governor of Minnesota; Ralph Schwartz, SWP candidate for lieutenant governor of Minnesota. Sat., Oct. 5, 5:30 p.m., refreshments; 6:30, banquet; 8 p.m., rally. 25 University Ave., S.E., Mpls. (near Central University.) Donation: \$4.50; \$1 for rally only. Ausp: Minnesota Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (612) 332-7781.

NASHVILLE

WHICH WAY FOR THE MIDDLE EAST: ONE YEAR AFTER THE OCTOBER WAR. Speakers: Basil Abu-Eid, Palestinian student; Becky Mitchell, Young Socialist Alliance. Tues., Oct. 1, 8 p.m. 208 E. Carmichael Towers (corner 24th Ave. S. and West End Ave.) Ausp: Young Socialist Forum. For more information call (615) 383-2583.

NEW YORK: LOWER MANHATTAN

THE ROCKEFELLER COVER-UP: HIDDEN MONEY AND HIDDEN POWER. Speaker: Dick Roberts, staff writer of *The Militant*. Fri., Oct. 4, 8 p.m. 706 Broadway (near 4th St.), Eighth Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 982-6051.

NEW YORK: UPPER WEST SIDE
THE CASE FOR UNCONDITIONAL AMNESTY: PANEL DISCUSSION. Speakers: Eddie Sowers, coordinator, Safe Return Amnesty Committee; Howard Gressey, coordinator, Project Amnesty; Katherine Sojourner, Socialist Workers Party; a representative of Ad Hoc Committee for Unconditional Amnesty at Columbia University. Fri., Oct. 4, 8 p.m. 2726 Broadway (near 104th St.), Third Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: West Side Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 663-3000.

OAKLAND/BERKELEY

THE RULING CLASS AT BOHEMIA GROVE. Speaker: G. William Domhoff, author of *Who Rules America?*; plus slide show. Fri., Oct. 4, 8 p.m. 1849 University Ave., Berkeley. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 548-0354.

PHILADELPHIA

WOMEN IN POLITICS: FILM AND PANEL DISCUSSION. Speakers to be announced. Fri., Oct. 4, 8 p.m. 1004 Filbert (one block north of Market). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (215) WAS-4316.

...Denver

Continued from page 9

rado University board of regents, spoke about his party's 1974 campaign. Rodriguez is the only Raza Unida candidate running for statewide office this year.

Rodriguez explained that his campaign would be bilingual. Che Luera, Rodriguez's running mate for the regents seat from the first district, addressed the rally in Spanish. The regents candidates demand that the percentage of students enrolled in higher education institutions be increased to equal the percentage of Chicanos in Colorado. Rodriguez called for complete student control over all Chicano studies department funds.

Other speakers at the rally included: Father Joseph Lara of Our Lady of Guadalupe Church; Ernesto Vigil, Raza Unida Party candidate for state senate, district two; Jesus Valderrama, United Farm Workers; and Jose Calderon and Jose Gonzales, state co-chairmen of La Raza Unida Party.

Antonio Alcantar, the sole survivor of the May 29 bomb blast in Boulder, was introduced to the demonstrators.

District judge Joseph Lilly on Sept. 17 ruled a mistrial in the Gary Garrison case and for a change of venue for his next trial.

Lilly claimed that pretrial publicity issued by the defense committee had made it impossible for a "fair" trial to take place in Denver! The defense attorneys for Garrison argued that adverse pretrial publicity in Denver's daily papers seeking to make Garrison appear as a Chicano terrorist required Lilly to throw Denver district

attorney Daly Tooley's case against Garrison out of court.

Lilly's ruling is seen here as an attempt to weaken the Garrison defense by forcing supporters of Garrison to travel long distances to attend his trial. During the first day of Garrison's trial the judge banned spectators not only from the courtroom but from all adjacent public areas in the courthouse.

Lilly has set Oct. 1 as the date when he will announce where a new trial for Garrison will begin.

...strategy

Continued from page 27

ture of this society, and win gains for Black people."

Pulley outlined some of the struggles members of the SWP and YSA have been involved in. These include defense cases in many cities around the country. One of the most important of these is that of the Attica Brothers defense.

Others include struggles against police brutality; the fight for Puerto Rican, Chinese, and Black control of the schools in New York City's District 1; building the Coalition of Labor Union Women; organizing actions in defense of the Portuguese African colonies' right to immediate independence; helping to organize strike support; actions in support of child care; and protest actions against repression in Chile, Korea, Iran, and against Zionist terror against the Palestinian and other Arab peoples.

A workshop was held following Pulley's talk where participants in many of these various struggles met to discuss their activities.

Two other areas of revolutionary socialist activity in the Black liberation struggle, Pulley reported, will be the continued campaign against Watergate-type repression and efforts to educate the Black community about socialist ideas and win Black people to the revolutionary movement.

...Chile

Continued from page 4

Moreover, the Senate Subcommittee on Multinational Corporations voted that same day to reject a staff report recommending contempt and possible perjury proceedings against State Department officials who had insisted at last year's ITT hearings that Wash-

ington followed a policy of "nonintervention" in Chile.

Actually the current CIA revelations come as no surprise to anyone least acquainted with the nature of the U.S. government.

The problem is U.S. foreign policy and the CIA itself, not the lack of "oversight" of CIA operations by Congress.

The members of Congress today expressing their "surprise" at the disclosures of CIA crimes are more concerned with getting at Ford, the Republican, and Kissinger, a holdover of the Nixon administration, than they are in exposing the evidence of CIA complicity in Allende's overthrow. But behind their expressed dismay at the CIA's role is something else—their awareness of growing public anger over the rottenness in government. They know that exposure of the lies about the role of the CIA adds a bit more to the widespread sentiment favoring a thorough housecleaning job in Washington, and it is this phenomenon in American politics that worries them.

...ballot

Continued from page 18

parties, which designed the election laws to discriminate against any form of independent political action, are trying to prevent the voters from hearing any alternative to their policies.

"This deliberate effort by the Democratic Party to deny candidates of smaller parties the right to run for office should be fought by all those concerned with preserving civil liberties."

The Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL) is appealing for further support for the democratic right of the SWP to ballot status. It urges that telegrams and letters of protest be sent to the New York State Board of Elections, 194 Washington Ave., Albany, N.Y. 10013.

Calendar and classified ad rates: 75 cents per line of 56-character-wide type-written copy. Display ad rates: \$10 per column inch (\$7.50 if camera-ready ad is enclosed). Payment must be included with ads. The *Militant* is published each week on Friday. Deadlines for ad copy: Friday, one week preceding publication, for classified and display ads; Wednesday noon, two days preceding publication, for calendar ads. Telephone: (212) 243-6392.

Socialist Directory

ARIZONA: Phoenix: YSA, c/o Steve Shliveck, P.O. Box 890, Tempe, Ariz. 85281.

Tucson: YSA, c/o Tim Clendon, S.U.P.O. Box 20965, Tucson, Ariz. 85720.

CALIFORNIA: Berkeley-Oakland: SWP and YSA, 1849 University Ave., Berkeley, Calif. 94703. Tel: (415) 548-0354.

Los Angeles, Central-East: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 710 S. Westlake Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90057. Tel: (213) 483-1512.

Los Angeles, West Side: SWP and YSA, 230 Broadway, Santa Monica, Calif. 90401. Tel: (213) 394-9050.

Los Angeles: City-wide SWP and YSA, 710 S. Westlake Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90057. Tel: (213) 483-0357.

San Diego: SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 4635 El Cajon Blvd., San Diego, Calif. 92115. Tel: (714) 280-1292.

San Francisco: SWP, YSA, Militant Labor Forum, and Militant Books, 1519 Mission St., San Francisco, Calif. 94103. Tel: (415) 864-9174.

San Jose: YSA, c/o John Hummer, 96 S. 17th St., San Jose, Calif. 95112. Tel: (408) 354-2373.

Santa Barbara: YSA, P.O. Box 14606, UCSB, Santa Barbara, Calif. 93107.

COLORADO: Denver: SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 1203 California, Denver, Colo. 80204. Tel: SWP (303) 623-2825, YSA—(303) 266-9431.

CONNECTICUT: Hartford: YSA, P.O. Box 1184, Hartford, Conn. 06101.

FLORIDA: Tallahassee: YSA, c/o Meriwether Shepherd, 811 W. Pensacola St., Tallahassee, Fla. 32304. Tel: (904) 222-2253.

GEORGIA: Atlanta: Militant Bookstore, 68 Peachtree St., N.E., Third Floor, Atlanta, Ga. 30303. SWP and YSA, P.O. Box 846, Atlanta, Ga. 30301. Tel: (404) 523-0610.

HAWAII: Honolulu: YSA, c/o David Hough, 629 Bannister St. #4, Honolulu, Hawaii 96819.

ILLINOIS: Chicago: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Books, 428 S. Wabash, Fifth Floor, Chicago, Ill. 60605. Tel: SWP—(312) 939-0737, YSA—(312) 427-0280, Pathfinder Books—(312) 939-0756.

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, c/o Student Activities Desk, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind. 47401.

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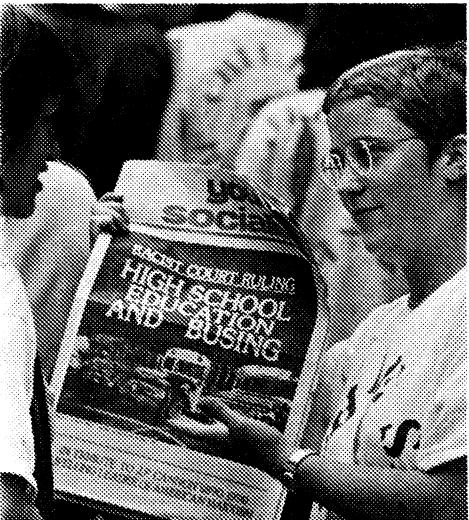
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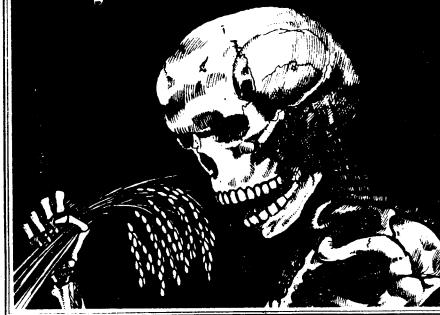
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THE MILITANT

Urge solidarity actions

War resisters demand: 'Unconditional amnesty!'

By BAXTER SMITH

Deepening opposition to Gerald Ford's "conditional amnesty" for Vietnam war resisters led a Canadian conference of war resisters to announce plans for a boycott of the plan and to appeal for solidarity action in the United States.

Some 100 war resisters meeting in Toronto the weekend of Sept. 22 called for a "week of concern" beginning Sept. 29 "to show the American public that the amnesty program that President Ford presented last Monday was unacceptable to a large number of exiles."

"We wholeheartedly reject the concept of punitive repatriation," Bruce Beyer, a war resister from Buffalo said.

"Solidarity is the important thing now," one resister said.

Groups sending representatives included Amex/Canada, Vancouver American Exiles Association, Union of American Exiles in Britain, American Deserters Committee of Sweden, and others. The conference passed a resolution that said:

"For those draft resisters and deserters in exile and underground in the U.S. and the over half-a-million Vietnam-era veterans with punitive, less-than-honorable discharges and those with criminal records and subject to prosecution because of their active opposition to the war, we continue to demand universal and unconditional amnesty."

'Earned reentry'

While having drawn sharp opposition from resisters and veterans, Ford's "amnesty" is also drawing flak



U.S. war resisters in Canada. Toronto conference voted to boycott Ford's 'amnesty' program.

from more and more ordinary citizens.

The plan entails what the government terms an "earned reentry" period, involving work similar to that which conscientious objectors had to do. Ford's plan also includes a nine-member Clemency Review Board to look over cases of those already convicted

for desertion or draft evasion.

But Patricia Simon disagrees. "Amnesty means forgetting," said the mother of a slain Vietnam GI who is the Boston coordinator of a group called Gold Star Parents for Amnesty.

"If you have review boards to sit in judgment, that's not amnesty," she said. "Neither is alternative service."

We're opposed to these things because they imply wrongdoing. There are no review boards for those who got us into the war."

Under Ford's plan, which affects anywhere from 28,000 to 50,000 people (the White House figure is 28,000 and some war resisters groups place it at 50,000), the unconvicted draft resister must report to a U.S. Attorney, then register for and perform up to two years of public service-type work. Upon completion of this work, charges will be dropped.

The unconvicted deserter, after filing with the military, will be given an undesirable discharge, which, the plan says, can be worked off by doing up to two years of public service-type work. After satisfactorily completing the work, the individual is given a "clemency discharge." But, one ACLU attorney noted, such a clemency discharge will have "traitor stamped all over it."

Convicted war resisters must apply to the clemency board for review of their cases.

Bitter reaction

Reaction to Ford's plan has been bitter from most war resisters, and so far few have become takers. A week after the announcement, only 12 people had begun the discharge procedure at military camps in Indiana.

The first man to surrender, John Barry, said he grudgingly submitted because he didn't want "anything hanging on my head as I'm getting older."

Ed Fitzgerald, who deserted in 1969, expressed what is no doubt a

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Justice for Claude Reese!

*By MAXINE WILLIAMS
and DERRICK MORRISON*

NEW YORK—Only a week after the police murder of 14-year-old Claude Reese, who is Black, another Black man has been maimed by New York cops.

Derrick Morrison is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of New York and Maxine Williams is the SWP candidate for congress from Brooklyn's 12th C.D.

Twenty-two-year-old William Blake and three companions were sitting in a car in the early morning hours Sept. 22 when five cops fired 13 shots into the vehicle. One bullet hit Blake

in the eye. Police said it was a case of "mistaken identity."

In a move to placate public opinion, police officials have removed the five from the beat. However, they are charged only with violating departmental rules—not with assault with a deadly weapon with intent to kill.

Police have taken a similar approach in response to the outcry and protests over the murder of young Reese in the Brownsville section of Brooklyn. Officials have relieved the cop involved, Frank Bosco, of his duties and of his gun. But these measures do not even amount to suspension, let alone charging him with murder.

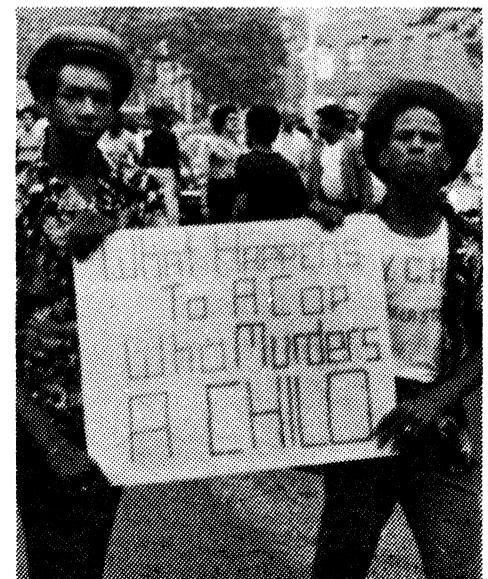
Three youths from the block where Claude Reese was killed told us how

it happened. They said they and Reese were cleaning out a basement on Sunday evening, Sept. 15, to be able to hold a surprise birthday party there for one of their friends. Unknown to them, somebody in the building had called the police.

At about 10 p.m. Bosco and his partner kicked in a rear door and burst into the dimly lit basement with a flashlight and guns drawn.

Not knowing who it was, some of the teenagers ran out another exit, while others froze. According to Patricia Blount, who was one of the two caught in the basement, Bosco's partner kept his gun drawn on them while Bosco pursued the other five. In an instant a shot was heard.

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Militant/Keith Jones